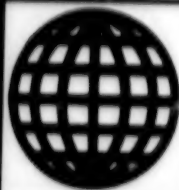


JPRS-UPA-89-032  
19 MAY 1989



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE**

---

# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

---

***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-032

### CONTENTS

19 May 1989

#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Readers Urge Disclosure of Leaders' Views, Lifestyles [Yu. Orlik; IZVESTIYA, 25 Mar 89]	1
Brezhnev Protege Investigated, Expelled from Party [V. Udachin; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 1 Apr 89]	2
LiSSR CP CC Secretary Shepetis on Elections, Future Sovereignty [L. Shepetis; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 9 Feb 89]	9
Kazakh CP CC First Secretary Kolbin on Political Reform [G.B. Kolbin; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS No 2, Feb 89]	16

#### CULTURE

Rescinding of Stalinist Decrees Against Writers Urged [V. Osipov; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 13, 29 Mar 89]	29
Language Issue in Ukrainian Theater Discussed [R. Kolomiyets and A. Povnitsa; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 5 Feb 89]	29

#### SOCIAL ISSUES

OGONEK Chronicles Sakharov's Differences with Soviet Regimes [V. Beletskaya; OGONEK, 19-26 Feb 89]	33
Woman Sentenced for Knowingly Exposing Others to AIDS [S. Tarnavskaya; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 8 Jan 89]	38
AzSSR Crime Figures Published [A. Eberlin; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 25 Mar 89]	39
BSSR Publishes 1988 Crime Figures [SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 25 Feb 89]	40
Labor Colony Eschews Barbed Wire, Guard Towers [S. Yestemesov; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 10 Mar 89]	41
Kazakh Crime Problems Aired [N. Muftakhov; SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 20 Jan 89]	42

#### REGIONAL ISSUES

Reader Delivers Scathing Criticism of Soviet Iconography, Includes Lenin [B. Magomedov; SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, 16 Feb 89]	45
Membership, Role, Future of 'Informals' Examined [N. Rubanova; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 15 Feb 89]	45
Support, Criticism Voiced on BSSR Informal Groups [SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 17 Feb 89]	47
Belorussian Journalist Blasted, Defended for 'Nationalistic' Opinions [G. Ayzenshtadt; ZNAMYA YUNOSTI, 15 Mar 89]	48
Estonian Intermovement Members Criticize Media Coverage, Language Law [K. Kiknadze and A. Yumalov; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 4 Mar 89]	51
Protests Over Raising of Estonian National Flag Rapped [Ya. Tolstikov; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 7 Mar 89]	54
People's Front Leader Lauristin Comments on Role, Need for Front [M. Lauristin; KOMMUNIST ESTONII No 12, Dec 88]	55
Study of Humanities, Science of Nationalities Lacking in Estonia [Yu. Kakhk; KOMMUNIST ESTONII No 12, Dec 88]	59
Russian-Language Programming in Latvia Detailed [A. Yakovlev; SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, 4 Apr 89]	66
Latvians Disrupt Anniversary Festivities	67
Pacifists Stage 'Unsanctioned' Procession [B. Sebyakin; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 25 Feb 89]	67
Nationalists Disrupt Official Commemoration [A. Ye. Vasilenck; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 25 Feb 89]	68
Latvian Olympic Committee Is Formed	69
Latvian Olympic Committee's General Assembly [G. Keisels; PADOMJU JAUNATNE, 2 Dec 88]	69
USSR NOC Rejects LOC [PADOMJU JAUNATNE, 6 Dec 88]	70

Latvian Member of the USSR NOC F. Cers Interviewed [F. Cers; PADOMJU JAUNATNE, 6 Dec 88]	70
LOC Continues Its Activities [D. Caune; PADOMJU JAUNATNE, 7 Dec 88]	71
Controversy Over a Children's Magazine [PADOMJU JAUNATNE, 2 Feb 89]	71
Resolutions of Lithuanian Journalists' Congress Published [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 2 Feb 89]	75
Writers Score Opponents of Lithuanian State Language [A. Bernotas, et al; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 14 Feb 89]	76
Yedinstvo 12 Feb Meeting Viewed	77
Media Bias in Coverage Alleged [A. Dyatkovskaya; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 15 Feb 89]	77
Yedinstvo Fears 'Unfounded' [I. Lankutis, et al; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 25 Feb 89]	78
Academician Condemns 'Narrow' Use Of Azeri [KOMMUNIST, 17 January 1989]	78
Hospital Bed Shortage Related To Mortality Rate [KOMMUNIST, 25 January 1989]	79
Roundtable on Georgian-Azerbaijani Problems Held	79
Report of Georgian Participant at 1987 Baku Meeting [G. Patsatsia; AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI, 12 Nov 88]	79
Georgian Grievances Against Azerbaijan Discussed [M. Gigineishvili et al; LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO No 45, 4 Nov 88]	81
Youth Newspaper Readers Respond to Georgian Language Program [AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI, 12 Nov 88]	87
Georgian Language Program: Measures in Industry, Economy [AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI, 10 Nov 88]	89
Georgian Writer Alarmed About Russianization of Mingrelia [Zaur Kalandia; LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO, No 45 1988]	90
'Economic Theoreticians' Who Urge Georgian Migration Slammed [R. Dzhaparidze; LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO No 46, 11 Nov 88]	94
Party Organization, Population in Issyk-Kul Oblast Highlighted [SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN, 23 Oct 88]	100
Problem of Non-Russian KaSSR Labor Force [O. Aqypbekov; QAZAQ ADEBIYETI, 6 Jan 89]	100
Niyazov Meets With Families of Stalin's Victims [SOVET TURKMENISTANY, 6 January 1989]	104
'Responsible People Support Prostitutes' [SOVET TURKMENISTANY, 12 January 1989]	105
Obstacles To Functioning Of Cooperatives Noted [SOVET TURKMENISTANY, 20 January 1989]	105

**Readers Urge Disclosure of Leaders' Views, Lifestyles**

18000718 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
25 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Yuriy Orlik, IZVESTIYA editor in charge of the letters division, under the rubric "Reading the Mail": "What Do We Know about Our Leaders?"]

[Text] "Does Mikhail Sergeyevich like fishing?" That is how V. Vasilyev, a culture school teacher from Petrozavodsk, heads his letter to the editors. He began the letter with a reference to a recent IZVESTIYA article entitled "Portrait of the President" from which, and I quote him, "We learn that the new, 41st U.S. President George Bush is a runner, plays tennis and golf, hunts, fishes, that he is a 'charming host,' that George and Barbara had six children, and one baby who died of leukemia, and that the President and his spouse like to go to small Chinese restaurants." You have, no doubt, guessed the direction of V. Vasilyev's thought. "But what do we know about our leaders?" he asks.

It is natural that this unsatisfied interest is linked above all with M. S. Gorbachev. Readers are trying to figure out why "glasnost does not apply to the person of its creator." What is this—a tribute to political tradition? (We did not know very much about Stalin's personal life while he was alive, and the chronicle of the Brezhnev clan is only now being written.) Is there a conviction that the private life should not become a subject of public attention? The readers take all these considerations into account, but they do not think they are a sufficient basis for the "conspiracy of silence" around the personal life of the leader.

"Why do I have to read TIME magazine to learn that Gorbachev received the Order of the Red Banner while still in secondary school and working as assistant to a combine operator, that Raisa Maksimovna Titarenko came from the Altay, that they were married while still college students and lived for a whole year in various rooms, that she worked as a teacher for 23 years and defended her dissertation on questions of sociology—why can't I learn this from our own press?" asks Ya. Margolin of Minsk.

"Because of the lack of full information," writes N. Krivosheyeva of Kemerovo, a CPSU member since 1959, "all kinds of rumors and gossip develop and spread. It is very convenient to brush these conversations aside on the pretext that they are petty. But is that true? I also think that it is not at all mandatory for us to do things the way 'they' do them. I consider it poor form to get into the details, for example, of another person's family life, no matter whose. I am simply not interested. But it makes me sick to hear things like, 'Do you think they take care of themselves? They must have servants.' So, is it possible to put an end to the gossip?"

As we know, the 19th Party Conference spoke in favor of democratization of leadership activity and for renunciation of unjustified concealment of the internal life of the CPSU. In the second issue of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS we can finally read the materials of the October 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and in March television gave us our first opportunity to be present at a regular Plenum of the Central Committee. I am convinced that it is not possible to democratize the party and establish a spirit of party comradeship in place of hierarchical subordination in relations between communists if the life of the leaders continues to be surrounded by impenetrable secrecy. "This tradition," V. Vasilyev writes, "arose at a time when the activity of our leaders seemed to be continuous work, 'day and night,' for the welfare of the Soviet people. You remember: all Moscow is asleep, but just one window in the Kremlin is lit. That is Comrade Stalin tirelessly pondering how to make Soviet people even happier."

Times have changed, of course. "Thank God, it is a thing of the past for the state to be humiliated and the world amused to watch our general secretary being helped to walk to the podium or to lay a wreath" (L. Chepiga, Uzhgorod). Readers remark that "our leaders have finally come down from the podium beside the Mausoleum and started traveling around the country and talking with their own people" (G. Ushakova, Ufa). "But all the same we do not know much about them," comments R. Koshelev of Krasnoyarsk. I will try to explain this last quotation. The people who head the party and state have always played a large part in the life of our society. Too large. It is no accident that mass consciousness has adopted this periodization of our history: the ages of Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev. But what did we know about them at the start of each of these ages? And incidentally, one of the goals of the political reform being carried out in the country is to lessen the dependence of the country's fate on the will of a single person.

Readers consider openness in the life of the political leadership as a sign of a civilized society. "Interest in the personal life of the leaders is not empty curiosity," A. Bekker of Tallinn believes. "This is associated with the affirmation of different political morals." "We do not need a legendary person, a demigod," writes officer S. Malyshev of Ordzhonikidze in the North Ossetian ASSR. "Better knowledge of the political leader is essential to avoid a personality cult."

IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS undertook to satisfy this hunger for information. But as far as we can judge from our mail, the "biographical information on leadership personnel" contained in the first issue of the new publication did not satisfy the readers. "This is not biographical information, but work records behind which the real person is hidden," writes Candidate of Technical Sciences F. Dozorets of Odessa. "Are people really interested in positions and dates? Who are they, our leaders? What kind of families did they grow up in? What do they

like, what do they read, how do they entertain themselves? What do they value most in a person? Exactly what did they do to earn those orders that decorate their chests? I think that the work records of Kunayev, Rashidov, and Aliyev would be just as good—the same stars for Heroes of Socialist Labor, Orders of Lenin." A. Orlov of Moscow remarks, "From the biographies, no matter how you try, it is hard to understand why these particular people are in the Politburo."

Readers usually move from evaluations (often subjective ones, I should observe) of the activity of individual members of the leadership to reflections on how the highest echelons of power, party and state, form in our country in general. "The newspapers have presented a list of the members of George Bush's cabinet," writes garage foreman V. Lyagin of Khimki in Moscow Oblast. "You are struck by the painstaking care with which the U. S. Senate discusses every candidate proposed by the President. They demand that the candidate present a program of action in the future position, and he falls under a crossfire of questions from the Senators. Naturally, the life and activities of each claimant are well-known to everyone. But what do we know about our own ministers, their programs, and the very procedure for entering the government? An ukase of appointment, a brief biographic sketch, and that is it. Has the time perhaps come for us to openly and informally discuss every candidate for a governmental post in the USSR Supreme Soviet? The procedure of having ministers take an oath does not seem superfluous either." "After Tower, despite all Bush's efforts, was turned away I began to feel even greater respect for the bourgeois parliamentarism that we scorned so much," admits A. Golovko of Krivoy Rog, referring to the fact that the U. S. Congress, by a vote of 53 to 47, rejected Tower as a candidate for Secretary of Defense on the sole basis that he was found to have an excessive weakness for alcohol. The point is not the fact itself, but the principle. "If the same rigor were applied to our ministers, would the ranks of the Council of Ministers be thinned?" asks L. Sinelnikov of Lyubertsy in Moscow Oblast, not without irony. "The state should be governed by high-ranking professionals," scientific associate S. Dobrovolskiy of Moscow is convinced. "Then there will be fewer reversals of rivers and BAM's. The Supreme Soviet and government should be made up of people who are known and liked in society. I have the impression that it is not accidental that certain of our ministers and deputies avoid public exposure."

The letters often repeat the idea that the political leadership should not be anonymous. V. Katushev of Leninograd cites an article from the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: "During Lenin's time the party was not directed by a faceless Central Committee meeting off in the clouds, but rather by leaders it knew well. But among us today you cannot figure out who is who." "Why don't the secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the government, and numerous ministers ever, with rare exceptions, appear in the press with their own

(I emphasize this) point of view on events taking place in the country?" asks N. Petrenko from Chkalovo in Kokchetav Oblast. "You cannot help wondering if there is pluralism at the top." "It simply cannot be that they all have exactly the same opinion of ways to solve statewide problems!" exclaims doctor Yu. Petrov of Kemerovo. L. Erman from Kostroma is disturbed by the depersonalization of the political leadership, "staying in the shadow of the top man." "It would be interesting to know," he writes, "how Ye. K. Ligachev evaluates rent in the countryside, what V. A. Medvedev thinks of the battles in the Writers' Union, and to learn A. P. Biryukova's point of view on the soap epic."

In concluding this survey I would like to stress that the dialog which is so necessary to our society today is only possible among equals. You cannot argue with a "brilliant leader and teacher." And you cannot unburden yourself to a person whose chest glitters like an iconostasis. The readers believe that only by democratizing political mores can we get rid of the ideology of "supreme leaders." To remove the taboo on the personal lives of the leaders is an important step in this direction.

#### **Brezhnev Protege Investigated, Expelled from Party**

18000766 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Apr 89 pp 3, 4

[Article by V. Udachin: "The Medunov Phenomenon"]

[Excerpts] From a Letter to the Presidium of the 19th All-Union Party Conference:

"Cases of flagrant violations of socialist legality and amoral actions by important party and state employees (Medunov, Shchelokov, Kunayev, and Rashidov) have become known. A ruthless struggle must be waged against these phenomena, which brings shame on the lofty name of communist. We are all unanimous in this. We believe that, making use of glasnost, the masses of people must be raised to a struggle against bribery, stealing from the state, falsifying reports, and similar negative phenomena. Some form of control over the moral make-up of executive personnel must be established—[signed] K. Plekhanov, N. Kosevich, F. Sofin, and other communists at one of the primary party organizations of the Minsk Tractor Plant."

The Minsk tractor workers themselves mentioned this form of control. And it was not just any kind, it was the most effective and efficient. That is glasnost, perhaps the principal achievement of perestroyka. Glasnost opened the way to "blank spots" in recent history, it is more and more persistently raising the curtain over the stage on which the 20-year tragicomic spectacle called "stagnation" was played out, and it is bringing the producers and heroes of stagnation to the forefront. That is why they are so hostile to glasnost.

From the Statement of S. F. Medunov to the Party Control Committee of the Gagarinskiy Rayon Party Organization in the City of Moscow, 21 January 1989:

"The records of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee indicate that the 19th party congress received letters from working people demanding that I be brought to party accountability. The source of these letters is a stream of false accusations against me by certain authors in the press and other mass information media. In these publications they hang insulting labels on me that offend my human dignity, and without any proof. I have been subject to this spiritual terror for more than 3 years. This is creating negative social opinion toward me, which inspires working people to write such letters."

The Sergey Fedorovich Medunov who worked as first secretary of the Krasnodar Kray party committee is very recognizable in these present-day lines. His attitude toward the press was two-sided at that time also. Sergey Fedorovich loved to defend his own opinion in the central newspapers, but he did not like journalists who had their own point of view which differed from his and he tried to get rid of them.

From the Statement of S. F. Medunov at the Party Control Committee of the Gagarinskiy Rayon Party Organization:

"While I was first secretary of the Krasnodar Kray party committee I followed the fundamental party line in questions of party building and political and indoctrination work. With an army of 300,000 communists we met the strategic challenges of economic, social, and cultural development in multi-ethnic Krasnodar Kray and increasing its role in our country's national economic complex. In our practical work we did not wait for orders, but carried out initiatives which produced excellent material final results."

There is no denying that Sergey Fedorovich is right. Initiative poured out of him. I recall my first (not counting official presentation as the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent for Krasnodar Kray) and last audience with him on 10 November 1980. Medunov immediately set forth this assertion: "This is a year of high praise, a year of recognition for the kray party organization. Two decrees by the Central Committee—on the Krasnodar system for increasing production efficiency and on raising the qualitative output—doesn't that tell you something?"

To be fair we must say that Medunov was able to evaluate a promising idea and put all his battering ram force into carrying it out. That is what happened, for one example, with raising the quality of Kuban wheat, something that was unquestionably necessary and good for the country. He was awarded a prize of the USSR Council of Ministers for improving the quality of wheat.

I think that in the late fall of 1980 Medunov was mentally measuring up a second Gold Star medal. This was for the 1 million tons of rice he had long promised. Rice euphoria literally engulfed the entire kray.

Two weeks later Medunov's dream was realized. "Putting into effect the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the advice and instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on development of domestic rice growing, the agricultural workers of Krasnodar Kray successfully fulfilled their assigned task by producing more than 1 million tons of rice in 1980," it said in the official report. From that time forward this vague expression "more than 1 million tons" began to appear in one speech after another by Medunov and was even heard from the podium of the 26th CPSU Congress, without ever being given a real numerical definition. And even the Kray statistical administration used the same vague phrase: "more than 1 million tons of rice was harvested."

From a Letter to the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee

"Who in the kray does not know of Medunov's criminal activities in managing the kray party organization, including the selection and placement of personnel who suited him and, to a significant degree, have been convicted of crimes and are serving their punishment? We, the inhabitants of Gelendzhik, know of the amoral things that Medunov and his entourage of party workers, including N. F. Bogodin, first secretary of the Gelendzhik city committee, did at the kraykom dacha.—Veterans of the party, war, and labor, Gelendzhik 22 October 1988."

It is likely that Pavel Semenovitch Yartsev, who has been a party member for almost 60 years, was among the veterans who adopted this letter at their meeting. We met him and other old communists almost 9 years ago. In the summer of 1980 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA came out in defense of Yartsev, whose principled position was displeasing to gorkom first secretary Pogodin. He called the old party member, who he had never even met, a "scandal monger", a label typical of those times. And our report was in fact entitled "Based on the Words of Others." It was based on the shameless false accusations of his henchmen and cronies that Pogodin accused Yartsev of all the mortal sins. The editors received hundreds of letters. "I think that the buro of the kraykom will give this entire story a party evaluation," D. Bugayenko wrote to the editors from Vladivostok.

At that meeting in November 1980 Medunov spoke about the article "Based on the Words of Others". It was incorrect, in his opinion. Pogodin, he said, was an experienced party worker and well respected in the kray organization.

"We know him very well. We will not let you have Pogodin," Medunov warned.

On 21 December 1980 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published the result of our journalistic investigation, the article "Without Prejudice". Within a day Medunov ordered a commission to go to Gelendzhik. But the commission spent less time checking the facts given in the article than it did inquiring of people who were taken under protection in the article, how they established contact with the correspondents and what they said to them. The commission's report, which we did not manage to see for 6 months, completely rejected the article, but this time the editors did not receive any response.

From a Letter (17 November 1982) to the Party Control Committee by Former Chairman of the Party Commission of the CPSU Kraykom G. Karnaukhov, Convicted for Bribe-Taking:

"I knew that S. F. Medunov would do and had done everything possible to see that any actions by former first secretary of the Gelendzhik gorkom Pogodin were vindicated, so that he would, as they say, come out of the water dry. What was all the commotion that took place after publication of critical articles about Pogodin in the central press worth!"

"A cult of the first secretary developed in Gelendzhik," stated kray procurator B. I. Rybnikov at the March 1983 plenum of the kraykom, "and the articles 'Based on the Words of Others' and 'Without Prejudice' published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, which contained 100 percent truth, were obliterated by the hand of one man at the kraykom."

Boris Ivanovich Rybnikov was presented as the new kray procurator to delegates of the kray party conference in January 1981. Boris Ivanovich figured out the situation quite quickly and in a letter to the CPSU Central Committee on 2 April 1982 gave an accurate diagnosis:

"The position of kraykom first secretary Comrade Medunov in connection with the USSR Procurator's investigation relative to the group of thieves and bribe-takers among important officials in Sochin Krasnodar is surprising. He was aware that for more than 5 months the Krasnodar gorispolkom would not give its consent to bringing former head of the Rosmyasomoltorg [RSFSR Meat and Milk Trade Enterprise] office Shilin to accountability for bribe-taking. When Shilin was arrested in November 1981 with the sanction of the USSR Procurator and all I did was authorize his transportation under escort, Medunov was enraged and indignant. He said to me, 'Who are you working for! Naydenov's come and go, but the party organization remains.'"

From the Statement of S. F. Medunov to the Party Control Committee of the Gagarinskiy Rayon Party Organization:

"I did not reprimand kray procurator Rybnikov in any way. That is a misstatement."

From Rybnikov's Letter:

"In March 1982 I was called to Medunov. I was reproached because I did not inform the first secretary of the CPSU kraykom in advance of the arrival in Krasnodar of Comrade G. P. Karakozov, head of the investigative section of the USSR Procuracy (the trip was connected with confiscation of valuables from former kraykom secretary Tarada, who was arrested for taking bribes). I was reminded of the above-quoted words, and he added, 'I will assemble the members of the buro and we will adopt a declaration of political unreliability.'"

The warning bells of a "loud battle" rang more and more anxiously in the kray. The brigades from the USSR Procuracy, whose work was coordinated by Deputy USSR Procurator General V. V. Naydenov, identified one group of bribe-takers after another, and the threads from them stretched far and high, while Medunov tried to cut them off by every means.

Today Medunov is mentioned in the same tone as Rashidov, Shchelokov, and Churbanov. They are spoken of in the plural, with a small letter-rashidovs, shchelokovs, medunovs, and so on. As an embodiment of that phenomenon which we not call "corruption in the party and state apparatus." We can agree with this notion in general. As for Sergey Fedorovich Medunov in particular, I think that mentioning him in this group is too great an honor. I would be more inclined to classify him with that group of oblast leaders who came to power in the local areas either at the end of Khrushchev's "thaw" or mainly in the late 1960's and early 1970's when there was not even a memory left of Khrushchev's "thaw" and the small tilt toward post-Stalinism had begun, when the concepts of conscience and honor were withdrawing into nonexistence and such qualities as frankness, sincerity, and truthfulness were persecuted. Boot-lickers and careerists rose up and the drum roll of loud slogans and countless "greetings" rang out, with and without occasion, presenting life in the hardened ideological "turncoat" and in speculation with the most lucid ideals.

This group of secretaries, who belonged to the Central Committee, were the reliable support for Brezhnev and his entourage and created the background of "unanimous" approval in the local areas. The support was dedicated and reliable. It is true that Medunov got into this group fairly late in time, in 1973. He became first secretary of the kraykom at a late date for himself; at that time he was already 58 years old. But he quickly became the first among equals. It was probably his long service in the resort gorkoms in Yalta and Sochi that facilitated his rise. It is hard work, we must say, even in a strictly physical sense, and especially during the resort season.

From the Letter of A. Perepadya, Former Head of the Department of Administrative and Trade-Financial Organs of the Sochi CPSU Gorkom, Convicted of Bribe-Taking, to the USSR Procurator General:

"It is difficult to say how this all began. One thing is indisputable, that with the arrival of S. F. Medunov in the position of first secretary of the Sochi gorkom in the early 1960's, meeting and seeing off necessary people and the "attention" given to them increased and was made into a virtual duty for party and Soviet workers and all the main officials of the resort city. Sergey Fedorovich was so busy with the guests that, as old apparat employees said, he did not even have time to prepare a report for the plenum or the activists and therefore he read the report without checking it in advance."

While working at the resorts, especially in Sochi in 1959-1969, Medunov became personally acquainted with many leaders of the party and state, ministers, and obkom secretaries and in general was "their" man. He welcomed and saw off N. S. Khrushchev, and when L. I. Brezhnev appeared he welcomed and saw him off. It appears that they liked each other. They were drawn together by their memories of the front, and obviously they had a similar view of Khrushchev's "thaw" and of the new "line", which they did not doubt was correct. In 1969 Medunov was selected to be chairman of the krayispolkom, in 1970 to be a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and in 1973 to be first secretary of the kraykom. And in the same year he was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor.

Letter of Kraykom Secretary I. P. Kikilo to the Party Control Committee of CPSU Central Committee on 18 August 1977:

"I request that the Party Control Committee check a large-scale falsified reporting operation that has been carried out in our kray. On the eve of the October 1976 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the kraykom reported to the Central Committee that the obligations for sale of grain had been fulfilled. The reports stated, '4,425,000 tons of grain has been stored in state granaries, and more than 360,000 tons of rice has been sold' (PRAVDA, 25 October 1976). Kraykom first secretary S. F. Medunov reported this in his speech at the Plenum of Central Committee.

"Three months later, in January 1977 in a meeting of party and economic activists of the kray he said in his report: 'For the first time in the history of the kray 4,425,000 tons of grain have been stored in state granaries, including 436,00 tons of rice' (SOVETSKAYA KUBAN, 20 January 1977).

"As we see, while the amount of grain sold remained unchanged at 4,425,000 tons, the sale of rice increased by 76,000 tons. What were these tons of rice 'doing' in the October report? As became known in the spring, the grain delivered by the farms in exchanged for mixed feeds was included in the report. Then, after the report, this grain was taken out of the state granaries and replaced with rice, as the harvest still continued for a long time.

"In this way vanity and an arrogant desire to come to the Plenum with a victory led S. Medunov to a state crime. It is not easy for me to talk about what happened because I also bear moral responsibility for it, although they concealed this dishonest 'transaction' from me by every means. I cannot conceal, however, that after learning of it I could not make up my mind to write for a long time. And to speak of it here, at the kraykom—they would cut off your head. But after encountering other cases of arbitrary actions by S. Medunov, I decided that it was in the interests of the cause to correct him."

The resolutions following this letter are interesting. "Arvid Yanovich! I am sending you for advice a letter by Comrade Ivan Pavlovich Kikilo, secretary of the Krasnodar Kraykom. There is no doubt that Comrade Kikilo is the author, because he himself called the Party Control Committee and inquired whether the letter had been received. I. Gustov." "Comrade I. S. Gustov. On this matter you should consult with Comrade M. A. Suslov. Pelshe."

While they were "consulting" with Comrade Suslov, Ivan Pavlovich reported "fresh" cases of falsified reporting to the Party Control Committee—how they supposedly "overfulfilled" the plan for planting hemp in Kurganinskiy Rayon by 900 hectares, how they "turned over" 40,000 square meters of housing in Krasnodar, and how arduously the managers of enterprises were working. "It seems to me that Comrade Medunov's present position does not help stop these phenomena and causes harm to personnel indoctrination. And finally, please do not be indignant that one of the secretaries of the kraykom is informing the Party Control Committee instead of taking steps in the local area. The situation among us is such that none can oppose Comrade Medunov without a risk of falling into disfavor. I. Kikilo. 2 October 1977."

Resolution: "To the archive. Comrade I. V. Kapitonov held a discussion with Comrade S. V. Medunov concerning these letters. Medunov promised to take steps to fight cases of falsified reported which had occurred in the kray. Gustov. 22 December 1977."

Medunov took steps in his own style: Ivan Pavlovich Kikilo, a man in the prime of life, was sent off on pension. And the falsified reports continued.

From the Statement of S. F. Medunov to the Party Control Committee of the Gagarinskiy Rayon Party Organization:

"Since the end of the 9th Five-Year Plan and for all the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the kray has received the challenge Red Banners of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee. The kray has been awarded a second Order of Lenin. The kray was awarded challenge banners of the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Culture, and the USSR State Committee

for Sport for best organization of library service to the population, best organization of mass sports work, and best theatrical service to the population."

A parade of banners! And a storm of awards for the chief dignitary of the Kuban—in 10 years Medunov was awarded four orders of Lenin and the Gold Star medal "for successes", "for great successes", and "for contributions". Sergey Fedorovich did not forget to mention any of them in his densely printed 10-page statement. Now and again you meet the phrase "at my initiative". From Medunov's statement an uninformed reader would conclude that the Kuban had led a sorry existence; but as soon as Sergey Fedorovich "took the helm" everything changed, just as if he waved a magic wand. Roads, clubs, swimming pools, hospitals, and picture galleries appeared and even "amateur artistic collectives were organized at all kolkhozes and sovkhoses". It is simply a scenario for "The Kuban Cossacks," 1970 model!

From the Report of V. M. Pereudin, Member of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Secretariat of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom in April 1982.

"Crime in the kray is growing from year to year. The rate of growth significantly exceeds the growth rate of population. In the last 5 years the population of the kray has increased by 4 percent, while the total number of crimes increased by 32.4 percent and bribe-taking increased by 250 percent. In the last 3 years alone 600 cases of bribery have been identified in the kray. Among the persons implicated in them 21.2 percent are communists. In the last 3 years 152 officials have been convicted of bribe-taking.

"A stable trend is continuing toward growth in theft of state and public property and in official and economic crimes. The total loss from them in 1980-1981 was roughly 100 million rubles. Thefts constitute 15 percent of all crimes. In 1981 alone 5,000 persons who stole valuables worth 3.4 million rubles were convicted. For official crimes 233 persons were brought to responsibility. The loss from their actions was 1,436,000 rubles.

"Among the persons brought to criminal accountability in 1981 were 1,111 communists."

You must agree that this picture is very far from the majestic banners described by Medunov.

I recall that after publication of the article "Without Prejudice" the editorial offices and the Krasnodar correspondents office received many letters, including some from the kray. One of them, concerning abuses in Mechanized Column No 94, I sent to kraykom secretary D. N. Ponomarenko, who was in charge of construction. A short time later he invited me in for a talk. We talked for a long time. The secretary was indignant at the suggestion by the author of the letter that there was a

"hairy hand" covering up bribe-takers and thieves at No 3 Krasnaya Street, that is, at the kraykom. "What kind of 'hairy hand' is this in the kraykom?" Boris Nikolayevich raged. Nonetheless, they were soon discovered there.

From the Report of G. P. Karakozov, Head of the Investigative Section of the USSR Procuracy:

"In the course of the investigation conducted by the USSR Procuracy in the case of certain employees of the Ministry of Fishing it was established that they had criminal ties with officials of Krasnodar Kray. The heads of many organizations and enterprises received bribes for appointments to positions, transfers in the service, connivance in criminal activities, and other services. The money received by criminal means was often used to buy off officials who were obligated by their service position to monitor the activity of the particular enterprises and organizations. Charges and bribes paid to officials led to local usurpation of power, distortion of the principles for selection and placement of personnel, and intertwining of wheeler-dealers with employees of party and Soviet organs. The USSR procuracy brought to criminal accountability for bribe-taking former kraykom secretary Tarada, who took bribes from more than 100 officials and voluntarily turned over money and valuables in the amount of 750,000 rubles during the investigation."

Karakozov writes "former" because not long before his arrest Tarada was transferred to Moscow to serve as deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry. "In this position he was exposed taking bribes and arrested"—Medunov today is trying in every way possible to divorce himself from Tarada and the Kuban situs of his bribe-taking. But Karakozov confiscated Tarada's valuables in hiding places in Krasnodar.

From the Report of G. P. Karakozov:

"As can be seen from the materials of the criminal file, the activity of former kraykom first secretary Medunov contributed significantly to the wide spread of protectionism and buying off of officials. Although no investigation was made of Medunov, the explanations of persons charged with bribery testified to this."

From the Letter by G. Karnaukhov:

"In our party kraykom there was more than enough loud and harsh talk about the need to struggle against negative phenomena and to some extent steps were taken. But at the same time I knew that it was thanks to former kraykom first secretary Medunov that bribe-taker Tarada became kraykom secretary this was despite the fact that the kraykom had received warnings of his crimes, although they had not been checked."

"3 October 1979. To the CPSU Central Committee.

"The letter from Krasnodar to the CPSU Central Committee reports compromising facts against kraykom secretary Comrade A. G. Tarada. In the course of our inspection these facts were not confirmed. Comrade A. G. Tarada is a demanding and high-principled party worker. The persons named in the letter—the leaders of kray organizations—have good reputations. Secretary of the CPSU kraykom S. Medunov."

From the Report of Party Control Committee Member V. N. Pereudin at the Kraykom Secretariat:

"How could Tarada with his talents help but let himself go and be sure that he was reliably covered. Comrade Medunov in this case did not, of course, act on the proper level. His trust of Tarada was without an objective foundation."

From the Statement of A. Tarada:

"A precise system of gifts was set up in the kraykom with Medunov's consent. Gifts and food products were given to important persons in Moscow, when they were vacationing in Sochi, Gelendzhik, and Arkhipo-Osipovka, and when guests came to the kray. I participated in collecting the gifts, which often came out to fairly largely expenditures on my part (200-300-500 rubles)."

But the givers were not stingy, and Tarada recovered his expenditures and then some. In his prison cell he wrote about many things and many people, including and perhaps more than any other, about Medunov. For example: "There are in Medunov's style and work method, along with positive qualities, very negative ones: deliberate concealment of abuses by particular persons, indulgence toward obvious criminal actions, heavy pressure on criticism, and an effort not to 'wash dirty linen in public'". It is difficult to disagree with Tarada, especially as concerns heavy pressure on criticism. I know.

From the State of S. F. Medunov at the Party Control Committee of the Gagarinskiy Rayon Party Organization:

"They accuse me of, while kraykom first secretary, causing enormous damage to the moral indoctrination of communists and fostering the development of morally dangerous phenomena in the kray. They accuse me of promoting theft and bribery and violating party principles in selection of personnel. I can state that neither I as first secretary nor the kraykom buro ever promoted these phenomena."

From a Protocol

"At the CPSU Central Committee. The CPSU kraykom received from the USSR procuracy compromising materials against Comrade A. T. Merzlyy, secretary of the Sochi party gorkom. These materials report, along with other facts, that unworthy persons were admitted to

CPSU membership and promoted at work by his personal order and for mercenary purposes. The party kraykom intends to raise the question of the personal responsibility of Comrade Merzlyy at a Plenum of the Sochi gorkom.

"However, Comrade Merzlyy categorically denies the charges made against him and requests that a party audit be made of him. Kraykom secretary S. Medunov. 19 March 1981."

What struck me as noteworthy in this protocol was one detail, the phrase "along with other facts". As if these "facts" were insignificant and unworthy of attention. The main question, it says, is Merzlyy's party responsibility, concerning which Procuracy employees have no jurisdiction. But these "other facts" are the main facts in Merzlyy's case—bribes of 26,000 rubles, which the investigators had exposed. What was left for Aleksandr Trofimovich to do but "categorically deny the charges" and request a party audit. How could the bribes be proven with its methods? Party workers are not investigators. Merzlyy knew what to count on, and he knew who to turn to. With his memorandum Medunov hoped to delay investigation of the case, and at the same time express his mistrust of the actions of the USSR Procuracy. The protocol was set in motion.

While the commission was working and preparing its decision the team of "defenders" was not asleep, and they were not above the lowest form of slander.

"12 May 1981. To S. F. Medunov, first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU kraykom, from A. T. Chernokondratenko.

"I, Anatoliy Timofeyevich Chernokondratenko, former secretary of the Khostinskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee in the city of Sochi, student of a Soviet-party school, secretary of the party committee of the Verkhnesochinskiy Tea Sovkhoz, sentenced to probation by the Khostinskiy Rayon Peoples Court in June 1980, consider it my duty as a citizen to inform you of cases of collecting compromising documents against important employees of the party and Soviet organs of the city of Sochi. 'All trade employees are thieves,' militia employees Udalov and Likhonin stated to me, inflicting bodily injury on me, beating me, and compelling me to give testimony that disgraces important employees of the gorkom and gorispolkom Gavrilenko, Merzlyy, Merzlaya, Udotov, Voronkov, and others. They did not break me. As a former Komsomol worker I am deeply indignant at the crude methods of interrogation and investigation used by employees of the USSR Procuracy and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs."

Resolution: "To Comrade Nechesov. Could you please organize a careful and objective check on these materials. Medunov."

A. Nechesov, former head of the department of administrative organs of the kraykom did no inspection at all. Was this accidental? They "cleared it up", and not with Chernokondratenko, but with deputy head of the administration of internal affairs A. F. Udalov. He was discharged from his job and the central raykom expelled him from the party. For what? We have to think that it was because he showed too much interest in Merzlyy's family of bribe-takers. And Chernokondratenko, convicted earlier for automobile theft, walked free in Sochi and had his own office at the gorkom, where he composed denunciations.

From the Speech of S. Medunov at the April 1981 Plenum of the Sochi Gorkom:

"Before your eyes party and Soviet workers have been abused and everything good, valuable, and necessary done by the city party organization and the working people of Sochi for the benefit of Soviet people has been defamed and trampled in the mud. Before your eyes certain workers of the Procuracy and Ministry of Internal Affairs, relying on questionable sources of information—anti-Soviets, people with grudges, and people in prison, have followed a policy of compromising party and Soviet organs of the city, violated socialist legality, extorted and pressured witness statements that defame the secretaries of the kraykoms and gorkom and the chairman of the rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms, compiled files, and fabricated disgraceful cases against our cadres, and all you have done is defend yourselves.

"For example, take what can now be called the sensational 'case' of Merzlyy. What sin has he not been accused of, what is there that has not been written and said about him! Certain zealous employees of the USSR Procuracy and the Sochi administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in violation of socialist legality, began a criminal investigation of Merzlyy. The commission did not establish that Comrade Merzlyy took part in the promotion of two employees at work, did not confirm that he helped unworthy people be admitted to the party, and was unable to obtain sufficiently convincing proof that Comrade Merzlyy took bribes. At the same time, it was established that he used poor judgment in his contacts with trade workers and took advantage of his official position for personal gain. The kraykom buro adopted a decree releasing Comrade Merzlyy from his duties as secretary of the Sochi gorkom, reprimanding him with entry in his party record and sending him to economic work.

"The Central Committee commissioned USSR Procurator General Comrade Rekunkov and USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Comrade Shchelokov to review the statements and materials that were received concerning the incorrect behavior of certain employees of the Procuracy and Ministry of Internal Affairs organs during this investigation."

From the 15 September 1981 Memorandum of USSR Procurator General A. M. Rekunkov to the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee:

"According to the commission of the CPSU Central Committee the USSR Procuracy carefully checked the statements sent to the Krasnodar CPSU kraykom by secretary of the Sochi gorkom Comrade V. P. Tronov, chairman of the Sochi gorispolkum N. N. Udotov, his deputy B. N. Valikoyev, and six residents of the city of Sochi concerning violations of legality by investigators of the Procuracy. The check showed that the allegations of unlawful methods of investigation, beatings, and threats for the purpose of obtaining statements about the connections between the suspects and certain party and Soviet workers in the city of Sochi were not confirmed.

"The investigation showed that all the facts stated by Chernokondratenko in his statement are false. For this reason he is being brought to criminal accountability for a deliberately false denunciation.

"The USSR Procuracy is taking steps to complete the investigation of cases of theft and bribery in the city of Sochi. However, the final investigation is made more difficult because the Krasnodar and Sochi gorispolkoms in early September refused to consent to criminal charges against deputies of local Soviets Shilin, Kryachko, and Perepadya (and later A. Mukhin, chairman of the Sochi gorispolkom, and Merzlyy—author's note). At the same time I report that on 13 August of this year RSFSR deputy minister of trade Lukyanov, who also received regular bribes from the managers of trade enterprises in the city of Sochi, was arrested. More than 150 officials have been exposed for taking bribes."

From the Statement of I. S. Gustov in May 1982: "The kraykom and its buro are responsible for this, but special blame for the situation falls to S. F. Medunov, first secretary of the kraykom. Holding such a lofty position, in a number of matters he took a position unprecedented in party practice, showed lack of principle in evaluating the criminal actions of a number of executive employees, and often took them under protection."

Despite all Medunov's intrigues and despite the fact that he was even able to get USSR deputy procurator general V. V. Naydenov out of his way, a fair trial of the bribe-takers from Krasnodar and Sochi, including Merzlyy was accomplished. Medunov's position was also shaken. Credit must be given to the courage of the Central Committee commission (and incidentally I. K. Bolozkov, present-day first secretary of the Krasnodar kraykom was a member) which in April 1982, after verifying the materials on numerous cases of bribery in the kray, reached its harsh conclusions. Not even Medunov's patron—Brezhnev—could stand up against them.

From the Statement of S. F. Medunov at the Party Control Committee of the Gagarinskiy Rayon Party Organization:

"I am accused of having friendly relations with Brezhnev and Chernenko. Taking advantage of this I was able to 'get rid of' deputy USSR procurator general Naydenov. These conclusions are based on all kinds of incorrect assumptions. Brezhnev signed the decree releasing me, without even talking to me by telephone. Chernenko managed the Secretariat of the Central Committee and gave the report at the Central Committee Plenum where the questions of removing me from membership in the Central Committee for mistakes made in work was decided. He did not consider it necessary to talk with me for even a few minutes. That in concentrated form is the essence of the 'friendly' relations with Brezhnev and Chernenko."

That is enough, Sergey Fedorovich. Think back a little! In September 1973 Novorossiysk was given the title "Hero City", and a year later Brezhnev arrived to award it the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star medal. At that time the book "Malaya zemlya" [Small Land] had not yet been written, but Medunov was already doing everything he could to emphasize his patron's role in the history of the war. Old newspapers have preserved his immoderately flattering speeches.

In 1981 the "Nauka" Publishing House brought out the book "Narodnyy podvig v bitve za kavkaz" [The People's Heroic Feat in the Fight for the Caucasus].

It opens with an article by Medunov in which he cites a letter sent to him by Brezhnev on the occasion of publication of the book of memories of the front, "Na Levom Flange" [On the Left Flank], with participation by Medunov. "I was deeply moved to read... pages of our heroic past came alive in my memory... once more I thank you sincerely for the possibility of returning again to those distant days when the Great Victory was being forged... Respectfully, your fellow soldier L. Brezhnev." And the response to the "fellow soldier" was an explosion of praise: "The participants of the fighting for Novorossiysk unanimously state that the talent of party leader L. I. Brezhnev, his personal courage, bravery, and steadfastness, were an inspiring example for them."

Under the powerful protection of Brezhnev Medunov felt himself completely safe, the all-powerful ruler of the kray. The tragicomic farce of formation of a personality cult "up above" was projected into the local areas. No matter where I went, I heard only one thing at the raykom, "Sergey Fedorovich said," "Sergey Fedorovich telephoned", and so on. Some said it with servility, some with respect, and some with veiled irony. People had different attitudes toward him, just as Comrade Medunov himself differed. He could be polite, attentive, and witty, but more often he was abrupt and coarse.

But his power did come to an end. I remember the last plenum of the kraykom, which was saying goodbye to Medunov in late April 1982. He was somehow pale, withdrawn, and beaten down. By this time Borodkin, Merzlyy, and Tarada had been arrested, many bribe-takers in Krasnodar had been convicted, and Medunov could not help sensing that the threat hung over him too. But he had hopes for Brezhnev and continued to pray to that god. "I have just received a telegram from General Secretary Leonid Ilich Brezhnev", is how he began his last speech. Soon after this plenum Pogodin mysteriously disappeared. He had been declared the subject of an all-Union search for all these years. The disappearance of the gorkom first secretary was the last straw.

From the Letter of Ye. Bondarenko, Krasnodar, CPSU Member Since 1943:

"The people have not forgotten all Medunov's activities. People are interested in why, under pressure from someone, Medunov's case began to be hushed up and forgotten. Why were glasnost and expose articles in the press necessary then, if there was no result from them. The medunovs have already raised their heads, and they are ready to surface. They must be made to feel that their time is over, that we have reasons to hold them accountable; under their leadership, especially under the leadership of Medunov, much has been stolen from us, much has been destroyed. They trampled on our laws too much and created lawlessness. They disgraced people and destroyed the reputation of our party. Medunov cannot be forgiven for all this. The people have not forgiven him for anything and are waiting for a just party decision concerning him. He did nothing but harm to the Kuban and to his party organization. It is time to summarize and draw conclusions about his activity in Krasnodar Kray and decide the question of his membership in the party."

From the Decision of the Gagarinskiy CPSU Raykom of the City of Moscow, 2 March 1989:

"For serious deviations from party demands to intensify the struggle against bribery and other mercenary abuses, for protecting executives of the kray who were implicated in bribery, and for dishonesty before the party, all this occurring while first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom, Comrade S. F. Medunov is expelled of the ranks of the CPSU."

**LISSR CP CC Secretary Shepetis on Elections, Future Sovereignty**

18000733 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 89 pp 1,2

[Interview with Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Lionginas Shepetis by G. Vaynauskas: "Lionginas Shepetis. Confrontation with Conscience and Time"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] For many long years the residences of the party and government were, for us, places which we walked past indifferently. Since this year we have even dared to

enter the courtyard. Pickets and meetings have been conducted on several occasions on Taribu Square and opposite the building of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. Readers know everything, or at least approximately everything, discussed on this side of the doors to these buildings, and almost nothing about what occurred in these times on that side. Such is the old "palace" tradition: "Let them judge us on the basis of our public deeds." Today, now that the society has awakened, this tradition benefits neither the "palaces" themselves nor society. "Central Committee directive," "Central Committee decision," "Central Committee mistakes".... Who directed, who specifically decided, whose mistake, often simply remains unknown. He who makes a mistake hides among the rest, while the credit of the fighters is divided among those who make the mistakes. Could this be why it seems to the layman that we can no longer believe in all of the "palaces"? I would not have dared to calmly enter just any office. I selected one in which they didn't shout at the editor or pound their fists on the table in former times. The current occupant of this office is Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Lionginas Shepetis.

[Vaynauskas] Respected secretary, are you worried that you might not be elected for another term?

[Shepetis] To me, this is not a feeling of fear but of internal analysis. Why would they choose not to elect me? And anyway, I'm not worried about this today. The main thing is that an honest and cultured person occupy this post. I never thought that party work is the sole possible job. I have lived all of my life between an internal sense of duty and external factors, between my convictions and the dominant stereotypes of social consciousness. It stands to reason that it would have been simpler not to select such a path. In those early days, some educated people shied away from politics, even though you can't have vacancies in the apparatus of power, as you know. I thought then that the arts and the culture should at least be managed by a person who has some facility with them.

What I could not accomplish in life I tried to do at my writing desk. This was a break from my main work, which did not bring me all that much joy. When I was going to school in Moscow I wrote a dissertation titled "The Influence of Applied Art on Spiritual Improvement of the Individual." Now this seems funny, but someone wrote complaining that the term "Soviet individual" was lacking from the title. I must say that there is enough in it that is Soviet, but the conception itself seemed unacceptable, excessively innovative to many in those times, even though it no longer seems that way.

"The Beauty of Things" was the first book of the postwar years about beauty, taste, the function of objects and the environment. It was not very typical of a party worker. I found echoes of this book in others published later. For example in a work on modernism. This was the real word about Van Gogh, Dali and other famous artists. Though

of course with some conventions or somewhat exaggerated criticism. Still later I wrote a book about the esthetic environment, which lay at the basis of a doctorate dissertation.

How did my political career begin? On receiving a diploma of higher education and becoming an architect-engineer, I served out my apprenticeship with Academician A. Zhmuydzinavichyus and stained-glass artist S. Ushinskas, I served together with K. Shimonis, and I set up water-color exhibitions—I received a position in the drawing department of Kaunas Polytechnical Institute. My Komsomol work coincided with the time of the political thaw that began after Stalin's death.

In that time the Komsomol began involving itself in new cultural activity and with specific functions that were formerly uncharacteristic of it. For the first time in the Kaunas Polytechnical Institute we began organizing student labor detachments during summer vacations, and we conducted song and dance festivals, taking our inspiration from the Warsaw festival, in which I participated as a Komsomol worker and a member of a dance troupe. We also brought student caps back. This was a daring step in those times.

[Vaynauskas] Could you compare the present situation of rebirth with the previous one? What is common in them, and what are the differences?

[Shepetis] What is common is that during those times we felt ourselves to be bolder and freer; many years have passed, and only the general picture, the good memories remain. Of course in those times, having just released ourselves from the claws of Stalinism, we were not yet thinking about the sovereignty of the republic; we strived for freedom of the individual, we tried to rid ourselves of fear, and we dreamed of honest, glorious deeds in our milieu. The limits of responsibilities widened, and the nature of the activities of organizations changed: There was more music for the young, intellectual debate, and independent thinking. I remember a torchlight procession during a certain festival: We were walking through Kaunas in a sea of torchlights, and leaflets were being dropped from airplanes. After this I was summoned by Kazlauskayte, who was then the first secretary of the Kaunas City Committee. She said: "What are you doing throwing out those leaflets, are you ready to take responsibility if anti-Soviet leaflets appear among them?" I replied: "There won't be any." My fear disappeared. All of this is similar to today's rebirth, except that in those days it was not as all-embracing. The individual underwent rebirth. Each person freed himself of spiritual chains as best he could. But not everyone was able to do so.

[Vaynauskas] Were you able to sense the period of stagnation creeping in?

[Shepetis] This stage did not have a distinct beginning. Stalin's death and the 20th CPSU Congress very clearly separated the Stalinist era from the period of brief political thaw, and even Khrushchev had enough competence and political wisdom for a short time. I participated in some of his meetings with workers of culture. The amount I initially liked Khrushchev was subsequently equalled by my concern about him. He began running the intelligentsia through its paces, and attaching labels. Not only party functionaries but also many officials of the arts adopted this manner of "sorting" artists in the most favorable manner. This was a good environment for realizing one's creative ambitions, for professional envy and for intrigue.

The stagnation began late in Khrushchev's era. The beginning of Brezhnev's era was somewhat progressive as well. At first it seemed to everyone that good things were going to be done and that initiative was going to be displayed, but stagnation, especially spiritual stagnation, grew ever deeper, inasmuch as the decisions of the 20th Congress to de-Stalinize the country were never carried out to their conclusion.

The period of stagnation evolved gradually: one brick of pacification after another, brick by brick. So it was that the gigantic building was unnoticeably erected. And it depended on the individual how much this stagnation deepened, or what degree of resistance was offered to it.

As far as I can remember, I could never enjoy the comfort that stagnation had to offer, inasmuch as the features of my work were different. I worked in the sphere of culture, and it remained as restless and alive as it ever was, rising in rebellion from time to time.

And of course, the flow of directive demands and instructions to culture grew, but the internal resistance to them grew simultaneously as well. I remember when Yustinas Martsinkavinyus wrote "Mindaugas." It was a good work, but the very first showing elicited a definite reaction from stagnant forces: "Who needs this, who allowed it, why was it allowed?" Reactions vary, but to a minister of culture, such questions are more than unpleasant. I recall walking home from the show when I was overtaken by the editor of a certain influential newspaper in the republic. He began to say that "Mindaugas" had some nationalistic elements. I walked on silently, listening on and on to his endless chatter, and then I said: "And the writer Meras has submitted an application to emigrate to Israel."

And both of us fell silent.

[Vaynauskas] Incidentally, you made mention of the contribution of a specific person. More and more is now being said about Antanas Sneckkus, and about the role played by other former leaders in the life of Soviet Lithuania. You worked under him for many years. What opinion did you develop of him?

[Shepetis] A. Sneckkus as a person and a leader. My opinion of him as a person and as a leader is positive. He, who proclaimed the republic, was entrusted with a very complex scenario written by the Stalinist machine. It is my deep conviction that A. Sneckkus, Yu. Paletskis and others tried with all of their might to follow this scenario as little as possible, but they could not of course divorce themselves from it or completely reject it. We all remember how neighbors near and far envied us because we had someone like A. Sneckkus—a person who did much to solve problems important to our nation, and the problems of the republic's fast development. It stands to reason that in order to restore the historical role of A. Sneckkus, we will have to consider many documents and recollections. It would also be useful for each who speaks about him to ponder his place and his real or imagined role in this history.

But let's get back to the artists and times of stagnation.

At every step I found myself between the desire and the conviction that we need to build our culture, that we must help artists, and the hydra of a growing bureaucracy, even though fortunately it was not a terrorist one. But let's not ascribe too much of our misfortune to the other side.

Anyway, I never felt myself to be safe, I was never pleased with my work, it was never easy for me. There was never a night when I fell asleep with a tranquil heart. I recall the time when Viadas Bartusyavichyus, the leader of the national ensemble, was so discredited by his collective that directive organs kept him from going abroad.

To make matters worse, a directive was handed down calling for his removal from his post as leader, inasmuch as the ensemble would be going abroad but he would not be able to go. But the ensemble could not go without a leader either. How I tried to keep him from getting dismissed, and how I supported him later on as he sought other employment! We created the new official position (which did not exist in the Soviet Union) of main director of the philharmonic. He put his whole heart into this new position. I also remember helping Miltinis get permission to travel abroad. He was soundly discredited after the war. On one occasion he broke down and wept in my office. From happiness and simultaneously, apparently, from hopelessness. Is it pleasant for me to recall such things? More likely not. When you see before yourself a miserable person who was once a great artist, reality becomes even more oppressive.

I often had to confront dark forces in this position, and it was only after having done something good that I was able to find the justification for holding down jobs both in one office and in the other.

Thus for example the Arsenal has already been restored. A museum has been created: I remember how much Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Second Secretary V. Kharazov scolded me for that: What is it that we are building here, and why glorify antiquity at all? Now of course we could have capitalized on glasnost, and sought support among the people, while in those days we had to fight an interoffice struggle in which we were not always destined to win.

Many who believe as I do remember the great difficulty with which the art of Krasauskas fought its way to recognition. To support such art in those times was a risky thing, but not to support it was something the conscience would not permit. Poets Ye. Yevtushenko and A. Voznesenskiy often visited Krasauskas. They said that they felt greater freedom of creativity in Lithuania.

All kinds of people visited me over the long years—troubled, oppressed, persons who had lost their personal worth or never had it, the perpetual petitioners and unfortunates, and the blamelessly accused, oppressed but proud. These prideful people are proud even today, they blame no one for the fact that stagnation transformed them into slaves, while the most obedient are seeking vengeance for their former diligence. I have always said that an artist resolves all disputes on the stage, at his work table—it is in this way that his great truth is born, and only there can he justify his existence. And our responsibility is to help him.

[Vaynauskas] But in order to express one's creative credo in those times, one had to have a name, a social position. And only then were you able to speak boldly.

[Shepetis] Yes, a position had to be won, after which the artist could be stronger and bolder. On the other hand we, the ministers of culture and the secretaries, were interested in supporting such people in order that they could realize their ideas more easily. The idea of erecting a monument to Gediminas matured very long ago, even before the rock fill was delivered to the square. Several times I talked with Yakubonis and Bogdanas, encouraging them to immortalize the memory of the founder of Vilnius. Why precisely with them? Because with the backing of such names it was easier for Gediminas to wind up on the square. But this does not mean that we did not seek ways to support young people who had still not made a name for themselves.

One day I heard a representative of the monumental fine arts say on television that only now have the conditions appeared for creating a new form of national monumental fine art—not like before, under socialist realism, when it was impossible to bring content and form together. Such talk is wrong. It depends on the artist. Could you possibly separate form from content in V. Vildzhyunas's work in the Chyurlenis? Could there possibly be no form or content in Yakubonis's sculpture "Pirchyupis's Mother" or in the decorative sculptures of Palanga?

A modest sculpture titled "The Three Kings" stands in Kaunas, beside the Chyurlenis Museum. It was created 15 or so years ago by the sculptor V. Vildzhyunas. Where else in the Soviet Union was there anything similar to this at that time? According to the canons of those times, after all, it was felt to be totally abstract—no face, no nose. I remember a funny situation where it was moved closer to the wall so as to make it more an ornamental object than an exhibit per se, thus reinforcing its authority through that of the Chyurlenis Museum. Vildzhyunas and I had to explore ways by which we could exhibit it properly. Thus the desire for diversity of art was there.

[Vaynauskas] Exhibitions of works of fine art that had not been exhibited before are being organized in the country, and formerly banned novels are being published. Such examples are rare in Lithuania. Why is this so—because of the accommodative nature typical of a Lithuanian, or a tolerant position on the part of the ideologists of the times of stagnation?

[Shepetis] I think that you have already answered this question in part. The cultural situation in Lithuania was different from that in the entire country. The attitude toward the intelligentsia was more respectful, and this was apparently why there were few works of fine art that were not exhibited, or books that lingered on the shelves in the publishing houses. Recall the novels "Colors of the Chameleon" and "Dyagimay" by Jonas Avizhyus, which were so ahead of their time. It is apparently time to open these books again, and review them anew. But it may also be that artists who did not have the right and the opportunity to write the whole truth abandoned the effort altogether. Things for which I am now deeply sorry did happen as well, unfortunately. I am referring primarily to producer Jonas Yurashas. We of course would like all of the artists to return, so that they could live as Lithuanian artists. Perhaps some might return permanently, while others might visit for a little while, and take part in some measures. No one in Lithuania ever supported the censorship policies, which is why the names of workers of culture and the arts who have emigrated have not been stricken from the encyclopedias, and their novels have not been removed from library shelves.

I have always said (and in the most difficult times as well) that the culture of Lithuania must be accumulated here in Lithuania. Both the works of art and their creators.

Of course it is a great loss to us that talented people have had to wander over the whole world in search of happiness. But much fewer have emigrated from us than from the other republics.

When T. Ventslov is now referred to as a political exile, it makes me want to laugh. He left on his own. Though whatever the case, it is still a loss to us. I have a fabulous farewell letter from him.

Extensive dialogues with Jonas Yurashas are being published in the Siauliai newspaper ATGAYVA. Instead of the names of the other participants of the discussion, the newspaper prints their position—art council member (ChKhS). But these are concrete people, and they said that Yurashas was chosen not by a decision of the administration but as a result of the hostility, the disagreement existing among the artists themselves. Only the name of the minister of culture was named, and the ukase calling for his dismissal was published. But this was only the last signature, which had no bearing on the decision. The conflict in the theater became unendurable to Jonas Yurashas. I would like to explain here why he was transferred to the Russian drama theater after this conflict. Simply because Lithuanian theaters no longer wished to accept him. Given this situation, I cannot understand why the newspaper decided to hide the other participants of this conflict behind the abbreviation ChKhS.

The world of art is far more complex than may appear to the layman. The interests and ambitions of artists clash, they conflict due to their points of view, and competition, a savage struggle for a role, and often even a struggle between small groupings, proceeds.

It stands to reason that such mutual relationships between people were governed by the political situation as well.

Ten or twenty years ago the mechanism of intrigue was well tuned. There were cartloads of various kinds of ideological labels. On assimilating a couple of them, you could begin your black deeds against those who failed to recognize your talent, who did not give you the role, who did not accept your work for an exhibition.

And if you know where to take a complaint, you can be sure that the spiritual balance of your enemy would be disturbed for a long time to come.

And despite all of this! And despite all of this I thank my lucky stars for the fact that I was able to work in what to me is the most interesting sphere of life, in the most significant environment of the Lithuanian public's opinion, where each person you meet is an irreplaceable phenomenon of our culture.

Finally, when speaking before the public, one could utilize abstract, essentially correct, standard formulations, and appear to be right.

[Vaynauskas] In what years were you the minister of culture?

[Shepetis] From 1967 to 1976.

[Vaynauskas] I'm sure that the situation has now changed somewhat: Fewer toadies, fewer petitioners.... Perhaps the visits have become fewer as well?

[Shepetis] I remember the good people, there were more of them. Perhaps the visits have become fewer because the volume of practical work has been reduced in part. Today, the creative organizations and the public do more on their own.

And yet the longer visits have become greater in number, during which we examine such conceptual problems as creating the Vilnius Castle Game Refuge, the status of the Lithuanian National (Ecological) Museum, integrated development of the Art Museum and so on.

Today, the edifice of Lithuanian culture must be erected not out of isolated fragments but with an eye on embodying the conception of national culture.

[Vaynauskas] But let's return to politics. How do you feel about the present situation in the youth movement in Lithuania—the creation of new societies and organizations? Are you not frightened or shocked by this?

[Shepetis] No, not at all. The situation today is favorable, because young people are becoming active, which is something we have always strived for, at least in words. But some of us have become confused and frightened. This is also natural. Competition has begun to reveal the viability of each organization. This is especially important to the Komsomol and the Pioneers. I am not frightened by the fact that organizations that were out of the ordinary prior to today are coming into being; the only thing that would cause me to worry is if one subverted another, if all Pioneers became Scouts. Then we would have the same thing as we did with the Pioneers. I would like young people to be able to compete in cultured fashion, and be more democratic. I would like to say a few words about the situation in the VUZes, with reference to the example of the Art Institute. Such "uprisings" periodically recur in the history of all academies of art. It is a very good thing that they culminate with creative solutions, that new art movements come into being, and that such an event acts as a point of reckoning for a particular stage in the history of art or of this academy. I believe that this was so in this case as well. But such things should not transform into a fad, inasmuch as this would not produce any kind of benefit.

I think that it is natural for there to be resistance to an order that has become tiresome, and for some people not to receive support, but this should be done in all seriousness, with a sincere desire to defend one's vocation. As an instructor belonging to the senior generation, I would advise students to evaluate their instructors very carefully, inasmuch as each of them is worthy of respect. I have always adhered to the opinion that we do not have all that many artists, that we need to preserve and treasure them, and respect them. It may be that a person should not necessarily be an instructor, but he should not be belittled as a creator either. God forbid if in our struggle against attaching labels we once again return to that same practice.

[Vaynauskas] We recently celebrated K. Donelaytis's jubilee. Many have cited his lines about spring, about the awakening that follows winter. What do you think the summer of 1989 will be like?

[Shepetis] Nothing in life repeats itself. And last summer won't repeat itself either. There was enormous spiritual tension, and the most improbable changes occurred in the way of thinking of the people.

I would like the next summer to be one of consolidating the plans, emotions and specific deeds of the previous summer. There were of course unrealistic plans, and emotions did overshadow the reality, but how could it be otherwise? We have awakened, after all, some from lethargic sleep, and others from a nap.

[Vaynauskas] National rebirth—oftentimes these are still only words. In June of last year, in an interview in KOMJAUNIMO TIESA, you appealed to artists to accelerate their effort to create monuments to national history. Has your position changed?

[Shepetis] The situation today is such that bureaucrats are avoiding all acceleration, they are concerned that someone might call them vestiges of a dictatorial bureaucratic system. I think that we are acting too slowly, that we should create monuments faster. I was not pleased with the plans for the Gediminas monument. Much energy is being turned to social life. Perhaps art should not be hurried. Today as never before, the cultural process requires a natural course of events, but.... If there is anything that could accelerate this process, it would only be the press—by reflecting opinions about the creativity of artists as much as possible, and critically evaluating works put up for competition. This is something you can do—it is harder for me to do it.

The artists themselves must recognize their responsibility, and utilize their creative freedom to an optimum degree. It's a pity that art critics are presently unable to help the artist in the creative process, that they are unable to be respected opponents of the man of art. When critics evaluate art, they still base themselves not on esthetic but on political categories; much of what they say is nothing but pronouncements. All of this makes it hard for artists to create, to develop their talent.

[Vaynauskas] What is your assessment of the present election system? Weren't you, after all, a witness to a different kind of elections for many years?

[Shepetis] I have always longed, though perhaps of course spontaneously, for democratic elections, for a competitive basis. This was possibly dictated by an unrecognized faith in myself, by the conviction that I would be chosen even in democratic elections. Today, no one can be as confident as before, but I still feel that the new system of elections is more progressive and civilized than the old.

I would like to explain how I understand my present position. It is not favorable to me. After all, most of the candidates have never been involved in executive work. It is very easy for them to criticize the structure, the system, the bureaucratic apparatus, and to make promises. It is very easy for a candidate who condemns all of this in his speeches to win the popularity of the voters. But for me.... Like it or not, I must answer for everything that is bad. If soap is not to be found, the voters do not direct their complaints toward the candidate from the Writers Union, while I am compelled to answer for the lack of soap, even though I am not personally at fault for this. The candidates have now divided themselves virtually into two groups—into the position and the opposition, and it is always easier for candidates from the opposition.

[Vaynauskas] But shouldn't the party pay for the mistakes of the past?

[Shepetis] Of course. And it is paying. Once I said on television that repentance is required of all (I am happy that I was supported at the accountability conference of the Writers Union), but many colleagues criticized me, taking what I said too literally. They said: "I have nothing to repent for." That may be true personally. Many did not participate in the terrible deeds. Stalin, Beria and Dekanozov were not the products of our minds. We suffered due to them together with all the people. But as a member of the party, as a member of the society that lived through all of this, repentance may be appropriate. Repentance, possibly self-criticism, and possibly catharsis—all of these are moral and not legal categories.

The moral situation is presently not in favor of the party. But it is undergoing purification. However, some opposition candidates are already promising something they cannot make happen. We shouldn't lie to the voters. It is very easy to dispense promises, but the time of reckoning will come as well. I participated in many meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet and in many commission meetings. There, one person is like a chip on the sea. One person cannot create a storm at sea, the sea will not be stirred by emotional speeches. And if you do manage to get the floor on some occasion, you must speak very concretely, knowing the situation well and having accumulated considerable information, and without losing a sense of reality. Otherwise you will not win anything. Even if you walk out of the auditorium to make your point, no one will notice. What does one person out of 2,200 mean?! But if there were 500 persons in the Supreme Soviet, if we worked as professionals for several months out of the year, then the discussion would be different. Then one would have to be a professional politician, and be interested in the affairs of the entire country, and maintain the desire to really get something done.

[Vaynauskas] Who in your opinion could best represent Lithuania as peoples deputies?

[Shepetis] This is beginning to sound like electioneering.... I would rather not go into specifics. In general, they should be politicians with experience in such activity, and potential officials capable of mastering the art of politics, persons who are masters of their reason and their words.

[Vaynauskas] What qualities of a politician are especially important today?

[Shepetis] I have always felt competency and humanity to be the most important qualities. Since time immemorial, in any society, only a brilliant, educated person in whom this society believes could become a politician. Now that persons of this sort have become needed, we find that there are not many of them around. Unfortunately the past did not promote the development of such personalities. Today's ideologist is influenced both by the genes of Stalinism, together with its principle of unquestioning obedience, and the genes of stagnation, together with its "unanimous approval," and much more. Unfortunately the system itself for promoting individuals to particular posts in many cases rejected atypical people who did not fit within the framework of strictly established criteria. Who is successfully carrying on public work in the school to this very day? Might these be extraordinary, independently thinking personalities? No, they are obedient persons able to catch the nuance of every word, and while it is boring to listen to them, they do speak properly. How often it still is that we hear it said of a speech by a party worker that he speaks correctly! What does this mean? That the audience has heard not a single thought, not a single phrase which might amaze them, shake them up, agitate them, and compel them to argue, to discuss. To speak correctly means to say nothing at all. It means the wisdom of putting words together in such a way that they say nothing at all. Where did this ability come from? From the secondary school, from the social environment in which the individual forms as a citizen, as a personality.

While a qualitative leap has not occurred, the situation has changed. The audience is now talking, the auditorium has started generating ideas, and the people have started debating, and disagreeing. To a person who is accustomed to stereotypes, this is precisely what is most terrifying. It does not even enter his mind that he might be wrong, that someone might disagree with him. It seems to him that his righteousness is guaranteed by his position. Once I am a party worker, he says, how could I not be right? That is a dangerous illusion. But unfortunately it is not the sole one. And what about promises? Consider how much we as party workers have promised! And how many of these promises have we kept? Even I myself am not without sin.

[Vaynauskas] When the republic becomes sovereign, would the political worker be able to do more for the good of man?

[Shepetis] Of course; even today we are doing many things without consent, without complying with instructions that have still not been annulled. All new publications are being printed without regard for what the canons say.

[Vaynauskas] Even Estonians envy the abundance of our publications....

[Shepetis] Well, at least one person has at last said that the Estonians have something to be envious of us about; up to this time, you see, I have been hearing a constant flow of reproaches that the Estonians are ahead of us in all things. TESA published the Estonian law on the state language. But now we have all persuaded ourselves that ours is more progressive. It may possibly seem to some that returning the Cathedral to the believers was quite a simple thing to do. You can't even replace the roof of a Polish Roman Catholic church without permission from the center, and yet we intend to return to the believers more than just a single church. I am troubled by the fact that people have surfaced who assess any idea that does not agree with their own as a transgression upon the freedom of creativity, democracy and glasnost. This in my opinion is also extremism. Are we really going to see the return of new zones immune to criticism?

[Vaynauskas] What do you think, would party workers have received more votes in these elections if in the last meeting of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet the deputies had voted for the same amendment for which the Estonians voted?

[Shepetis] Perhaps. But I am still convinced that a single stroke will change nothing.

There is a much more effective path—submitting a totally new constitution.

If we had acted as the Estonians, we would have been able to take pleasure only in a symbolic victory. This is not the first time I have said this. Estonia is no freer than us today. On the contrary. We have a much more real freedom of choice. We have taken more real steps. It may be possible that the Estonians have now caught up with us, or in any case they should be catching up.

[Vaynauskas] But your "Unity" is much weaker....

[Shepetis] It is weaker, but that is not a gift from God, it is the result of our party organization's work. There are some who believe that this is natural, that it was attained without any effort. Prior to the war there were fewer representatives of nonindigenous nationalities in Estonia than in Lithuania. This means that our party organization realized even then which national policy was more progressive.

[Vaynauskas] But you can't say that our party organization is worthy only of praise. We virtually cut Ignalina off from Lithuania, as well as another rayon and a city.

[Shepetis] I'm not saying that we did everything we could have. But we did not concentrate industry in one place. Classes are given in all of our VUZes in Lithuanian, while in Estonia, perhaps half are given in Russian. No one says anything about that. And it would be uncomfortable somehow for us to say this ourselves: They might think we're boasting. But in reality, within the limits of our capabilities, we carried on a relatively good national policy. The language did not suffer in the secondary schools, after all, and our culture was not constrained in any special way. Things were worse at the plants, though not at all of them—much here depends on the executives.

There are some who to this day feel that we betrayed the Estonians. Nothing of the sort. Things turned out better for them. Their first secretary telephoned me and told me that things had come out for the better. Better for M. Gorbachev himself, since his opponents can no longer make the claim that the Baltic countries have created a separate bloc. Obviously we conduct our own affairs independently. And why should we always be imitating the Estonians?! Perhaps our ambitions have made themselves known to some degree here.

Sometimes the information that reaches us is mistaken—for example that the Estonians had stopped mining shale on the basis of their new law. Nothing of the sort. They had long been fighting for this, in the same way that we have been fighting, and we are fighting to this day, to stop the third block of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant. The reason why things are going the way they are is that they have started to reckon with us, that the public is no longer silent.

[Vaynauskas] A demand contrary to the policy proposed by Gorbachev is constantly being heard—to discipline the press. The ideologists are being accused of letting it run wild. Do you hear such complaints frequently?

[Shepetis] And how! All my life I have experienced the effects of two forces. This is possibly responsible in part for formation of centrist views; such a division has always existed in party organs. Some, let us say on the right wing, believed development of the culture to be dangerous to ideology. Progressive forces—abstractionists, as they were called for a long time—operated as well. They fought for greater freedom. My sympathies have always been on the side of the latter. But the others could not be ignored either. Their voice is still rather strong.

They usually demand stricter punishment, brandishing their ax. And very rarely correction of shortcomings. Where does this kind of psychology come from? It all comes from that same place, from the times of Stalin. Please understand me correctly. And what about labor losses, what about shortcomings that could be eliminated as a result of restructuring? Is punishing or replacing the chief really the most important thing? And by the way, when they vent their anger on journalists and demand

that "they be put in their place," they employ exactly the same methods: suppress, punish, curtail. The editor receives letters which do not debate the authors of certain articles but simply declare any other opinion to be against the state, to be harmful and so on. Once again a stereotype: Anyone who does not think as I do is a foe. Warriors against Stalinism sometimes act in the same way as well. Striving to democratize society, they resort to Stalinist methods.

Some time apparently needs to pass before we will achieve real culture in democratic mutual relations and in conducting debates. Without this, it is difficult to approach the truth, to understand the essence of particular problems and phenomena.

As far as the press is concerned, there are numerous complaints of various kinds from the right side. True, some of them are not totally groundless: We do encounter one-sidedness, after all, and perhaps representatives of the older generation are not being given enough attention, and it would not be counterproductive to reflect the interests of all strata of the society.

And the journalists need more boldness.

[Vaynauskas] For example in criticizing Sayudis.

[Shepetis] Yes, exactly. I'm not saying that they must be attacked, but debate with activists of Sayudis should have the primary objective of benefitting them. The same goes for party workers. We go on repeating untiringly that we need to change, that the times require this, that restructuring is an irreversible process. But those are just generalities, while life, alas, is much more complex.

#### **Kazakh CP CC First Secretary Kolbin on Political Reform**

*18300425 Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 2, Feb 89 pp 3-19*

[Article by G.B. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee and member of the CPSU Supreme Soviet Presidium: "The Party Committee—Organizer of Perestroika"]

[Text] The workers of Kazakhstan are profoundly aware of the conclusion of the 19th All-Union Party Conference that a fundamental reform of the political system is necessary. They have become convinced through bitter experience that arbitrary methods of management are entirely obsolete and can only lead our society into an impasse.

The underlying cause of the errors that have been committed and the massive pile-up of social and economic problems in the recent past lies in a gradual erosion of class approaches to party political work and the imposition of authoritarian methods of management. The republic, which was spoken of in such praiseworthy terms as a major industrial as well as agrarian

base of supply for the country, and as a laboratory for the friendship of peoples, has reached a state that is fraught with crisis. The average annual increase in national income, which exceeded the average level for the country in the 8th Five-Year Plan, declined to 1.3 percent in the 11th Five-Year Plan. This is the lowest rate of increase in the country. There was shortfalls of more than a million tons of rolled heavy metals, 430,000 tons of iron ore, and other commodities for customers in other regions. Shortfalls in contributions to Union stocks during the last five-year plan amounted to 18.5 million tons of grain, almost 263,000 tons of meat, and more than 57,000 tons of dairy products.

We have suffered a substantial decline in terms of a healthy national self-awareness and in relations between nationalities. Divisive tendencies have become increasingly pronounced among families and kin-groups. The needs and interests of certain national groups have been infringed upon. Nepotism and localism have flourished, and so have favoritism, moral deterioration in some cadres, and corrupt practices in this atmosphere. All of this gave rise to the notorious events of 6 December 1986 in Alma-Ata.

It is not easy, of course, to lead the republic in a short period of time out of a state of social and economic breakdown and restore the moral and psychological climate. The new membership of the Central Committee Buro therefore, relying on party committees and organizations, has mapped out and begun in a purposeful way to implement an entire complex of political and organizational measures, which have made it possible for the party organizations to concentrate efforts on vitally important priority problems that have for years remained unresolved. These problems are carrying out the food and housing problems and establishing social justice.

Under conditions in which problems have accumulated in the republic more rapidly than they have been resolved, it is essential to do everything possible to make people believe in the changes called for. There is only one way to do so, and that is to increase party influence over the labor collectives, to root out formalism in educational activities, and to draw party cadres closer to the people and their wants and needs.

A leading role in this effort is assigned to the **party committees**—and not only to generate ideas but also to participate directly in bringing about the scheduled transformations. The overall operation, from the work of the Central Committee on down to the primary party organizations, which is directed at restructuring all their activities, is already yielding encouraging results. And, truly, the main thing is that this process has in a short time had a perceptible impact not simply on annual statistics but on the inhabitants of Kazakhstan. We are made aware of this from the many letters received by the Central Committee and through meetings of the party leaders with the population. While such an evaluation is

encouraging, it nevertheless obliges us to evaluate results in a more self-critical way. Have we succeeded in completing all that was called for? Are we striving for an indivisible unity of words and deeds? Have people everywhere felt the impact of perestroika?

For the present, unfortunately, we cannot answer all these questions in the affirmative. Moreover, the difficulty lies not in a lack of desire to carry out perestroika (there are such people who lack the desire, but they do not determine policy and the mood of the masses). It lies clearly in the tenacity of old habits of dealing with problems.

We have not so far been able to take decisive steps in restructuring people's ways of thinking or in obtaining a practical return on the energies expended. Figuratively speaking, party committees have still not crossed the threshold into the mind and heart of each particular person, nor have they succeeded in charging that person with the energy that would enable him to fulfill in full his party and civic duties. We well understand that to get out of the deep ruts of habitual action is not easy; for the style of administration through pressure has been ingrained in us for decades. But we have no other way out.

\*\*\*

The conclusion of the 27th CPSU Congress regarding the necessity for radical revolutionary change in all spheres of political and social life demands in the first place fundamental alterations in the key sphere of economics.

Party committees have clear-cut guidelines and definite ideas of radical economic reform, involving a reorientation of economic activity from preliminary to final, socially significant results; organic integration of the interests of society, the collective, and each worker; transformation of scientific and technical progress as the principal factor of economic growth; granting priorities to customers in economic relations; and development of a reliably working system for curbing expenditures.

These requirements have special significance for such an enormous national economic complex as that which Kazakhstan represents. It is sufficient to say that as of the beginning of 1988 the fixed assets of the republic's national economy amounted to 153 billion rubles, and that the Kazakh SSR in volume of gross social product ranks third after the RSFSR and the Ukraine.

We are not justified, however, in saying that the economic potential that has been built up is being used efficiently enough. The national economy is only slowly accelerating, and many reserves have not yet been tapped. This is to be explained largely by the fact that the economy continues to operate inefficiently. Whereas in 1980 the per capita national income in the republic was below the Union average by 14 percent, in 1987 it was lower by 24 percent. Social labor productivity is below

the Union average by 12 percent, and the output-to-capital ratio by one third. The level of industrial development does not fully meet the present-day demands of scientific and technical progress. The proportion of industrial workers engaged in manual labor is over 40 percent. The processing industries are lagging in development.

All these negative tendencies call for serious measures be taken by republic party organizations to overcome the sluggishness of the economy. The main difficulty lies in the fact that it is not easy to reject all at once forms and methods of party operation that have persisted for years and decades. To examine these methods of operation critically is even more difficult since all past experience constrains a person involuntarily, as if in a state of hypnosis, to return again and again to the well-worn ruts of inertia.

How are we to relinquish the arbitrary style of management by means of pressure? How are we to convince people of the fallaciousness of this practice as it has developed and by concerted efforts establish new avenues of approach?

The main road to resolving these difficult matters lies in establishing a clear line of demarcation between the functions of state and party organs and the economic bodies in keeping with the Leninist conception of the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of society and the Soviet State.

In accordance with this policy, a reliable foundation has been laid in the republic for the establishment of a qualitatively new, integrated, effective, and flexible system of administration. Much has been done in all branches to regulate the organizational structure and to concentrate administration into uniform operational units and spheres of activity. The consolidation of a number of ministries and departments has been achieved through a uniform reduction in force averaging 50 percent.

The system of territorial administration has undergone substantive changes. Two oblasts and 14 rayons in agricultural areas have been abolished, and the number of urban rayons has been reduced from 35 to 21. The oblast administrative staffs have been reduced by one third.

Restructuring the system of managing the national economy is important, however, not simply from the standpoint of savings achieved by cutting down the administrative apparatus. The main thing is that it has made it possible to substantially broaden the authority of lower-echelon production units and has helped to liberate initiative and enterprise, while concurrently increasing the responsibility of labor collectives for final results.

This state of affairs has in many respects helped us to refrain from replacing state and economic bodies and to exclude from the conduct of party affairs deliberations that contain instructions addressed directly to them. It has imposed stricter requirements on the party committees to adhere to the principle that CPSU political policy is to be realized through communists at work in the various spheres of social life.

How in concrete terms is this line of demarcation to be achieved? What are the prerogatives of party organs in deciding matters? Let me take as an example the interaction between the Kazakh CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers.

The Central Committee and its bureau, with the assistance of the Central Committee organization, work out a strategy of socioeconomic development on the basis of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Party Congress, and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. However, tactical measures for the implementation of strategic policy are within the purview of the Council of Ministers.

Take, for example, the housing problem in the republic. The overall strategy, as determined by the Kazakh CP Central Committee, is this: Within a five-year period to provide living space uniformly over the years for all persons in line for housing as of 1 January 1987. On the basis of these conditions, the annual plan for putting housing into operation is likewise uniformly distributed according to months, and it is so designed that no less than 10 percent of the housing is to be turned over for use each month, thereby making it possible to complete the annual program over a 10-month period and to devote the two months that are left to housing for the future.

There are those in the republic who regarded this strategy as utopian. But look at the result. In the year that has just been completed, and in 1987 as well, this building program—which has been designated "Housing-91"—was successfully completed within the period specified.

The question naturally arises: Where did this work force, this technology, and building material come from when it was in short supply at even a more modest rate of construction? Certainly, not out of the air, nor was it incidental. The task, set with confidence and daring, elicited a fitting response in the communists, arousing a sense of enterprise and business acumen, and forcing them to seek new and unconventional approaches in the use of available construction supplies.

First, the republic Council of Ministers established a policy calling for the house construction combines and brick manufacturing plants, many of which, analysis revealed, were operating at 60-70 percent of their projected capacity, to work at peak capacity. By organizing work in three or four shifts at these enterprises, we obtained a sizable addition to the supply of building

materials. In addition, an intensive program was begun to build small-capacity brick-firing plants, almost entirely satisfying local needs of kolkhozes and sovkhozes as well as urban areas.

Second, experience gained in other regions of the country in the use of cement substitutes was carefully studied and introduced in production. It turned out that up to a million tons of chemical production waste in Mangyshlak could be put to use. By burning this waste it becomes possible to obtain without further processing a fairly high-grade cement substitute. The use of enormous deposits of shell rock holds promise for esthetic purposes in forming facades as well as for construction.

Authorization by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to use metals, cement, slate, and other materials in excess of amounts set by the plan for our own needs proved to be of great assistance. One outcome of this was that the fifth mill at the Karaganda Cement Plant was rushed into operation ahead of schedule, creating an opportunity to use all the cement produced from it since it was above the amount tasked.

An increase in house-building capacity through on-site, poured-cement construction speeded the availability of housing. House-building combines began to build box houses with labor collectives that were not qualified for assembly operations. Finishing work was done by crews provided by the enterprises and institutions.

Enterprises conducting timber procurement operations in Siberia with their own labor forces provided considerable support, as a result of which the shortage of timber products was somewhat relieved.

In short, these and many other out-of-the-ordinary tactics made it possible to increase sharply the rate of housing construction, and to put up houses according to the principle of "as much as necessary"—not "as much as possible."

A mistaken opinion may arise that in the division of responsibility party organs arrogate to themselves the role of "finger snapping." Political leadership in no way resembles "clean" work that can be carried out in white gloves without soiling one's hands. It is difficult, day-after-day, one might even say, manual labor, working together with people and for the sake of people. But it is also labor that is exacting, requiring organizational skills and a depth of economic knowledge. It is necessary to understand precisely the fundamental lines of approach set forth by the party to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union Conference.

The fulfillment of the "Housing-91" program demanded of party organs not only informed and clear-cut directives regarding the strategic task, but also persistent organizational effort in bringing about the final result. Despite the opinion of pessimists, success was achieved in moving the program from a standstill mainly through

the use of two tactics: increasing to a maximum degree the responsibility of managers for providing the members of their own collectives with accommodations; and involving virtually the entire population of the republic in housing construction activity. The principal criterion of progress in fulfilling the program became not the number of square meters placed in operation, as previously, but the actual forward movement of the waiting line for living quarters.

Officials in positions of management now regularly account for themselves in reporting to labor collectives regarding matters of housing construction. Frankly speaking, the galvanizing and mobilizing effect of these reports on the body of managers surpassed all expectations.

In party organs at all levels—from the republic to the rayon level—coordinating councils on housing were established. The Supreme Soviet Presidium, the KaSSR Council of Ministers, the KaSSR Council Trade Unions, the People's Control Committee, and their locally established bodies regularly study the progress of the "Housing-91" program, disciplining those who have created problems and encouraging ways of resolving them.

Two problems were encountered in all their magnitude—a worker shortage and a lag in building supplies behind the pace of construction. Yet a solution to them was found.

The practice of using the services of those waiting for housing became widespread. At the same time, labor collectives that dispatched members to the building sites voluntarily assumed the obligation of fulfilling their production assignments.

In addition, a propaganda campaign was carried on in the republic to encourage house-building by individuals. The purpose was not simply to involve additional workers and resources to take care of the housing program; it was regarded as important, too, from a moral, social, and educational standpoint.

It is a known fact that in recent decades the sense of family and therefore of "home" among people has perceptibly weakened. And it was not long before this circumstance began to exert a negative influence on many aspects of social life. Traditional family ties became less stable. The moral influence of the older generation on youth was diminished to some extent. No doubt there are other, perhaps far more important reasons for this negative phenomenon (they are undoubtedly more apparent to scholars of sociology). I am deeply convinced, however, that the absence of a family homestead, which parents can live in with their children in a sufficient degree of comfort, and which may be passed on from one generation to the next through inheritance, is one of the causal factors. Of course, the concepts of a paternal home and "family hearth" do not simply refer

to a roof over one's head; they stand for a totality of good family relations which help to form the civic, patriotic, and moral attributes of a person.

Somebody in the republic expressed concern about the increased rate of residential housing, saying that practically no one wants to take on the burden of individual house construction, the waiting line for housing is moving so fast. Such misgivings, however, are unjustified. People undertake construction of their own housing when they have a strong desire not just for ordinary houses of one type but for contemporary cottages with all the conveniences.

One family, of course, cannot erect a house with its own resources. It needs building materials, equipment, and a considerable amount of assistance. Among the initiators of individual housing construction were the communists of the Ust-Kamenogorsk Lead and Zinc Combine, under whose direction a depot was organized to supply all of the individual builders' needs. In a short time an entire microrayon sprang up along the shore of the Irtysh River.

Today the experience of the metallurgists has been broadly expanded upon in cities and villages of the republic. People boldly take out bank loans up to a maximum of 20,000 rubles, payable over a period of 20-25 years. They are building comfortable houses with saunas, garages, hothouses, and other amenities—for themselves and for their grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Housing units of superior quality, built by state construction organizations, are now being sold for cash. In 1989 no fewer than 600 units of this type will be sold in Alma-Ata alone.

The measures enumerated comprise a comprehensive but by no means full list of new approaches to solving the housing problem. One might also mention the Youth Housing Complex (YHC) movement, the construction of student dormitories, the transfer of so-called "prestige" housing released to working families and families with many children, among many other examples.

In speaking of the housing problem, mention must also be made of one other important principle involved—the strict observance of social justice in the distribution of housing and the participation in this process of party, soviet, and professional organizations.

The main element in this is widespread glasnost. The radio, television, and the press have been providing and will continue to provide broad coverage, revealing new approaches and the extent to which the "Housing-91" program is being carried out. The republic Council of Trade Unions and the gorispolkoms hold regular meetings with persons most acutely in need of housing.

Understandably, we are not satisfied with everything related to solving the housing problem, but the main thing is at hand—confidence that we are on the right road, and that the task set forth by the party of providing each family with well-built housing by the year 2000 will be fulfilled.

Such unorthodox approaches are required for the solution of yet another problem—the food problem. Here, too, there is a basically simple strategic course set by the Kazakh CP Central Committee, directed primarily at providing, if only at cooperative prices, an abundance of meat products on store counters. After a detailed examination of this matter, a careful analysis of livestock produce consumption patterns, and a study of all sources of an increased supply of meat production, as well as channels of losses and thefts, it is evident that many problems can be successfully dealt with locally.

The scant assortment of meat products on the counters came about largely because republic processing enterprises, without burdening themselves with additional concerns, provided the trade network with meat, so to speak, in its natural state, and often in the form of entire uncut carcasses. In each oblast soviet and economic organs faced the task of creating small processing facilities for producing sausages, smoked fowl, and smoked pork products, and of increasing the network of culinary shops in the villages for the sale of semi-finished foods.

We incurred large losses because the slaughtering of livestock was not organized as it should have been. Shipments ranged over thousands of kilometers. The meat combines clearly lacked sufficient processing plants. To resolve this problem, all government and business channels were used, and additional meat-packing facilities were found. Meanwhile, party committees together with the soviets and economic bodies set out to solve another task—the establishment of stationary slaughtering houses for all major cattle-fattening complexes and mobile slaughtering units built on Kamansk motor vehicle chassis. All this has helped significantly to cut down the distance between farms and processing workshops. By 1991 it will not be over 100-150 kilometers, and this means a substantial reduction of animal weight losses in transit.

The dressing and sale of meat products, however, is only a final step in the production process. How do matters stand with respect to the development of stock farming? Over the three years of the five-year plan we have managed in this sector to overcome a state of stagnation and take a modest step forward. Nevertheless, the level achieved continues to lag behind the demand. It is no accident that the 13th Kazakh CP Central Committee Plenum issued instructions to bring the per capita consumption of meat in 1988 to 67 kg; in 1989, to 70 kg; and in 1990, to the level of 72 kg.

What is necessary in order to do this? In the first place, the livestock in private subsidiary farms must be increased, and conditions must be established for raising and fattening livestock on a contractual basis. Efforts in this direction are accelerating. There are plans to sell in 1989 at least 680,000 young pigs and 46 million fowl for fattening, and in subsequent years to fully meet the needs of the private holdings for young stock.

But distributing poultry and livestock is by no means all that is needed. Conditions must be created for yard cultivation and fattening, so that people resort to this measure voluntarily of their own accord. Of course, problems of providing feed and space for subsidiary parcels of land are acute. For this reason the republic Council of Ministers last year decided to allot to people who fatten and then turn over livestock up to 1.5 hectares of irrigated land and 10 hectares of non-irrigated land for the growing of feed for their own needs.

In addition, permission was given to build farmhouses with land allotments of 20-40 hundredths and more, so that on a parcel of this size it may be possible to carry on light farming for the purpose of fattening bulls and heifers. In addition to its other advantages, another goal is reached in this way—the involvement of all family members in labor activity.

The results of such work already speak for themselves. Today for every one hundred farmsteads in the republic there are 150 head of cattle, including 77 cows, as well as 298 sheep or goats and 29 pigs.

New and improved methods of farm management constitute a key factor in carrying out the food program: cost accounting, leasing agreements, and cooperation. Right now the transfer of cattle through leasing arrangements is being widely practiced. The task has been set for each farm, whether its herd is for meat or milk, to have a family contract, and for each kolkhoz and sovkhoz to have to begin no less than one farm holding with a parcel of land and cattle transferred for a period of from 25 to 50 years.

The high level of effectiveness of such stimulating forms of organizing labor is confirmed by the operating practices of many republic farms. The Sofiyevskiy Sovkhoz in Tselinograd Oblast, for example, was for many years a backward farm. During the 11th Five-Year Plan losses here averaged 440,000 rubles per year. The transfer to a leasing contract, with the very same people, the same lands and year-round conditions, completely transformed the farm economy. Over a two-year period, as compared with the levels of the previous five-year plan, the average annual grain yield increased by a factor of 1.7; the milk yield from cows increased by a third; and the average daily weight of cattle increased by a fourth, and of swine by 39 percent. Labor productivity doubled, while wages rose by 17 percent, and the average annual profit exceeded 2 million rubles.

Nevertheless, with the increase in the number of livestock, there is another problem that becomes increasingly acute in both the private and public sectors. That is the instability of the feed supply base, without which the task of raising the productivity of livestock becomes impossible.

In this direction also party committees have acted with alacrity and enterprise. Through their initiative and active participation, measures have been undertaken to eliminate losses incurred in the procurement and storage of feed. We can all recall recent annual reports of feedstock procurements sufficient for from one and a half to two years, followed by feed shortages in the spring. The reason for this lay in poor storage conditions. Investigation disclosed that only about half of the hay pits were lined and only 3 percent of the hay was stored under cover. How can we talk of feed quality when a fifth of the nutrients were lost?

Industrial and construction enterprises, setting an example of patron-like assistance by urban to rural areas, included in their building projects the erection of silos and lined hay pits.

In addition, a series of measures were taken to increase feed procurements in the private sector. In this connection we may mention the allotment to each field workbrigade member of 20 hundredths (sotki) of irrigated land and 50 hundredths of non-irrigated land in order to give them an opportunity to cultivate on a cash basis feed for their own needs. This policy promises many benefits in increasing the yield of forage cultivation, including annual and perennial grasses, while rigorously economizing on the use of available forms of feed.

The food program, however, is not only the product of livestock raising. We must not lose sight of the production of fruits and vegetables and many other kinds of farm activity. After weighing all the possibilities and conferring with the party aktiv, the Central Committee Buro assigned republic communists the strategic task of raising the per capita public consumption of vegetables and melon crops to 130 kg, of potatoes to 93 kg, and of berries to 46 kg by the end of the five-year plan.

A regular and uninterrupted supply of these food products may be secured by means of hothouse cultivation. Their construction is to be developed through the facilities and at the expense of the industrial enterprises. The population welcomes such a measure as obtaining permission to have hothouses on private subsidiary holdings. Many fruits and vegetables have been lost at the time of mass collection as processing plants have been unable to cope with the non-recurrent load of processing them.

On the assumption that developing processing facilities costs less than reproducing the volume of production that is lost every year, the decision has been made to thoroughly re-equip the dairy, meat, and food-processing

industries on an up-to-date scientific and technical basis. At the same time, we have rejected the temptation to build gigantic projects and have adopted a policy of building small enterprises as close as possible to the sources of raw materials.

With respect to problems concerned with the trade in butter, cheese, curds, sour cream, and kefir, the situation will become less critical if by 1990 we bring the per capita consumption of dairy products up to 300 kg. Efforts in this direction are already under way. Undoubtedly, efforts to strengthen the feed supply, which have already been discussed, will influence the outcome. Another index of effectiveness will be the degree of success in engaging as many people as possible in increasing the supply of dairy products. In some oblasts, for example, they have employed successfully the practice of giving out milking cows to young families with subsequent compensation in the form of milk yield.

Thus a diversity of forms and methods of carrying out the food program is making it possible to significantly improve the situation locally. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that this program is being carried out uniformly in the various regions of the republic. We have been criticized justifiably for doing so in the newspaper PRAVDA (18 December 1988). The oblasts, of course, differ one from another with respect to natural climatic conditions, economic potential, and many other factors. In this connection, the long-range prospect is one of mutually advantageous exchange of goods between oblasts. Through the use of above-plan production, an industrial oblast may receive meat and milk in exchange for helping its agrarian neighbor with cement, metal, and building materials.

While evaluating the first positive changes on their merits, at the same time we realize clearly that the principles of economic reform have not reached each primary labor collective and each place of work. To assure a thorough restructuring of the administration of the economy, it is necessary to take a truly creative approach and resolve a whole complex of economic, organizational, and educational problems.

All the organizational and political work of party organizations and all their ideological and educational work are needed to expedite this effort effectively. It is their task to head the restructuring and be in the vanguard of radical reform. They are required to strengthen the influence of the party over all spheres of activity and to work out new and creative approaches.

On more than one occasion the simple truth has been confirmed that if the party organization is active, party committee work proceeds expeditiously and with a sense of purpose; if the work in the collective goes well, there is movement forward.

But there are other examples as well. The collective of the Pavlodar Tractor Plant is already among those designated as unsuccessful for the year. Here, in 1987, there was a shortfall of deliveries for the plan of almost 18,000 tractors, and in place of a planned profit there was a loss of more than 25 million rubles. The operation is also extremely unsuccessful as matters stand for the current year. The changes planned for in the life of the society appear to have been bypassed by the enterprise collective. The reconstruction and mechanization of production are in abeyance. The equipment often breaks down. The new organization of labor exists in form, but in fact it is only on paper.

There has been an a sharp decline in discipline at the plant. Failures to comply with instructions and orders issued by the party committee with regard to the most urgent matters of stabilizing production have come to be expected. Absenteeism has increased by 10 percent. The number of workers reporting late for work has increased by 30 percent. Losses in work time have risen almost 50 percent. At the same time, work pay has been rising at an even faster rate, and nonproductive payments have been in excess of a million rubles.

What are the reasons for these failures? When one begins to analyze them, it becomes evident that the party committee is lingering on the periphery of perestroika. The activity of the communists is poor, and there is no sense of urgency in the demands of managers and specialists. The slogan of broad democracy is here taken as an invitation to complete permissiveness. A procedure for electing a new general director, which was devised by the party committee, and which has been dragging on for more than a year, proved to be costly. As a result the huge labor collective of 23,000 people was left for a long time without a manager, in effect without any leadership. Only the intervention of the Kazakh CP Central Committee could expedite matters rapidly. But, of course, this could not be done if the Pavlodar Oblast and city committees were to take a correct position in determining cadre matters without violating principles of democracy and glasnost. Unfortunately, as it turned out, they were not up to the task, and the situation seriously deteriorated.

Such instances attest to the fact that much depends—in fact, the fate of perestroika depends—on the initiative of the party committees, their creative dissatisfaction with things as they are, and their ability to operate in accordance with the demands of the time. The republic CP Central Committee and party committees locally therefore recognize it as their task to concentrate the efforts of the communists in the labor collectives on the steady implementation of economic reform and the broad exploitation of experience gained by enterprises that have been operating successfully under the new conditions. A great deal remains to be done in this respect so that the principles of cost accounting and self-financing reach the work brigades, the sections and shops, and every work situation. It is particularly important today

to eschew the administrative pressure tactics that now and then appear in party committee affairs, to make the new economic mechanism operate at full power, and to open up more fully the initiative and independence of each labor collective.

These tasks lay no claim to novelty. They have been set before, but unfortunately were reduced to mere admonitions and reports while matters remained unchanged. Why? Primarily because there was no corresponding amount of organizational activity, or more precisely, there were no organizers of the new breed, capable of uniting and directing the energies of party and non-party members into a new channel, and of focusing attention and effort on the single most critical point of a specific problem.

Here is a typical example. In the same Pavlodar Oblast, which has natural climatic conditions similar to those of neighboring Kokchetav, Tselinograd, and Kustanay oblasts, the situation with respect to food supply was markedly worse. Its former leadership clearly lacked the initiative and enterprise as well as the simple desire to get down to the work at hand. The only thing they wanted was to persistently press the issue of increasing the food fund before republic organs. Even in the decision taken by the Pavlodar party gorkom plenum, which was devoted to discussing problems of produce supply, there was no mention of assisting rural areas. A parasitical attitude clearly predominated: "Give us the money, period."

Naturally, with such unhealthy attitudes the CP Central Committee could not agree. The decision was made to conduct an experiment. Some groups were formed of workers, representatives of the intelligentsia, and veterans of both the party and labor in Pavlodar. They were sent into the neighboring oblasts to see how the food supply was organized. The result surpassed all expectations. The people who visited Kokchetav Oblast saw with their own eyes how difficult problems could be solved, and immediately on their return raised the issue of replacing the city and oblast leadership.

Their petition was granted. Almost unanimously at the very next plenum Ye. D. Bayteryakov, former deputy chairman of the Kokchetav Oblast ispolkom, was chosen first secretary of the Pavlodar gorkom.

Incidentally, this approach at the instigation of Kazakh CP Central Committee workers was also used in replacing the leadership of the party committee of Pavlodar Oblast. Essentially, it consists of entrusting managerial work to people who have already demonstrated their ability to carry out the restructuring process at their previous place of work. Thus Yu. A. Meshcheryakov, who had served as Central Committee secretary, and who was well known in the republic as one of the leading organizers of the Housing-91 Program, was unanimously selected as first secretary of the party obkom. The residents of Pavlodar also greeted with satisfaction the

choice of N. F. Krasnoselskiy, former head of the department of construction and city management, as secretary for construction—a strong supporter of the program with demonstrated ability as a party leader.

This particular example reflects the complex and many-sided process of developing and extending democratic principles, which today encompass the economy and relations within the society as well as within the party. Today, when the center of gravity of all party committee activity is being transferred to achieving existing tasks through methods of political persuasion, its success and degree of effectiveness is going to be determined by real authority, won not by words but by actions, and by drawing the broad masses to support the side of the party committee through convincing activities which respond to the wants and needs of the people and to their hopes and desires for change.

In the course of the republic report and election campaign there was a widespread extension of citizen meetings in which people had an opportunity to pick out their own leaders from among party workers, mindful that in future party and soviet leadership duties are to be combined and drastic changes brought about in resolving critical social and economic problems.

What do such meetings accomplish? In the first place, people can express their personal feelings about the progress of the restructuring in their regions, openly discuss both positive and negative factors which they encounter on a daily basis, and make numerous proposals for overcoming deficiencies. In the second place, by evaluating the operating style of the party leaders, they can appraise the degree of their influence upon the progress of revolutionary change in fulfillment of decisions made by the 27th Congress and the 19th CPSU Conference.

For example, a lively and impromptu discussion developed at a meeting of residents in Taldy-Kurganskiy Rayon about approaches to restructuring, economic changes, and social development of rural areas. The speakers rightly related renewal in various spheres of life to the party raykom's organizational work. In particular, they expressed their satisfaction with the fact that S. K. Bespayev, raykom first secretary, has been vigorously promoting the renovation of the farm economy and its conversion to use of the leasing contract. At his initiative much is being done to improve living conditions of farm workers, especially those engaged in stock farming, and concern is being shown for veterans. At the same time, while approving and supporting party raykom policy, the speakers pointed out both errors and deficiencies, and they expressed their wishes, while giving advice to party leaders on how to improve their performance.

Such meetings are not exceptional, but they have quickly become an important means for party cadres to study traditional methods, together with trips by groups of Central Committee officials, discussions with a broad

circle of people, followed by a sober analysis of all opinions for and against each candidacy for the Central Committee Secretariat, and with due regard for alternate candidates for the office of party leader.

The practice of maintaining extraordinary secrecy in the work of the party committees is irreversibly becoming a thing of the past—a time when plenums were attended by a narrow circle of communists. Plenums today have become a major political event in the life of the rayon, the city, and the oblast as well as of the republic. They constitute a broad-based democratic process wherein the people search for avenues of approach and apply their practical experience to the determination of strategic policy decisions regarding problems of vital concern to all working people.

The republic has solidly endorsed such standard practices as vigorous debate of report theses and a systematic comparison of various points of view expressed in the press and in oral as well as written discourse between citizens. This process can restore the lost authority of members of party elective bodies and their role in working out decisions that were formerly made by workers in the party apparatus.

The radical change in the structure and functions of the party apparatus has necessarily led to increasing the role and activity of members of the party elective bodies and persons in the permanent commissions dealing with the most vital areas of activity. At the same time, we are concerned not simply with organizational changes but with a fundamental restructuring of the entire operation of the party committees, and with incorporating forms and methods of political leadership in keeping with the new tasks.

The requirements for the members of the elective bodies themselves have undergone a change. Today we require of them not only vigorous and concerned discussion of the issues that arise but a clear role to play in implementing tasks, in working out tactical measures, and in seeking for the best approaches to achieving the objectives that have been established. For example, in discussing prospective improvements in the public food supply at a recent Central Committee plenum, instructions were given to various members of the Central Committee and oblast leaders for dealing with specific and, it might be said, frequently occurring problems, the resolution of which could help in carrying out overall strategic directives. Not all the members of the party elective bodies proved to be prepared for such a work agenda. The former practice at party plenums of using the rostrum for exhibitionist reports of one's own doings and bold asseveration is being overcome only with difficulty. It is no secret that a number of leaders had a false notion that a speech would go over successfully if at the end of it the questions at hand were artfully placed in the lap of the

Central Committee organs. Such questions would accumulate in anticipation of the next speaker at the rostrum, although in most cases they were matters to be dealt with locally with one's own resources.

Other members of the Central Committee viewed their representation in this body as a means of satisfying their own ambitions and narrowly selfish interests. At the most recent Central Committee plenum, M. I. Chormanov, former second secretary of the Alma-Ata gorkom, tried to impose his own views on the Central Committee members by threatening to walk out of the collective body. The plenum decisively censured the behavior of M. I. Chormanov as politically immature, characterized by extreme individualism, and having nothing in common with the Leninist conception of democratic centralism, and then they removed him from membership in the Central Committee.

Under the new conditions, in which the party committees are increasingly becoming organs of political guidance, rebuilding the party apparatus, so that it is subordinate to the election boards, and eliminating the exaggerated role of apparatchiks in the functioning of party organizations acquire special significance.

The very system of forming the party apparatus is in the process of changing. A necessary condition for promotion of party workers, as well as of leaders in production, is possessing experience in party election work. All candidacies for promotion within the party apparatus are discussed in the primary party organizations, taking into account the opinions of the labor collective. Now many of the departments are being infused with new energy. Workers are showing up with a dynamic, contemporary outlook, who are staunch advocates of perestroika, possessing the requisite practical as well as professional experience, and capable of reorienting themselves to the new methods of operating.

This reorganization of the work of the party apparatus, giving it a new non-cellular structure, switches its function from rigid regulation of the lower party links and fulfillment of arbitrary orders from above back to the fundamental task of providing competent organization. A party staff worker now acts not as an impassive inspector-general, but primarily as an organizer, an adviser, and a helper of local party committees, as well as a source of all that is new and progressive. Local trips by senior officials have become the practice of the Central Committee apparatus not for the purpose of collecting "cooked-up" facts but rather to render practical assistance to work organizations in compliance with decisions made by the buro and the plenum, to search for new and more effective approaches to achieving given objectives, and to subject to analysis everything of value that has been achieved by the primary party organizations since April 1985.

Among the political tasks that each party committee is facing under the new conditions, cadre work is the most important inasmuch as it impacts directly on the progress of restructuring. The scale and complexity of the problems that cadres must contend with in the course of radical reform constitute a real test of their ability to move the work of restructuring forward without succumbing to euphoria as a result of the first positive improvements or allowing themselves to exaggerate difficulties in the presence of setbacks. Not all party committee managers have demonstrated that they have the knowledge of practical affairs to be able to consolidate approval and support for the party platform as set forth by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Carried away by overestimating their own activities, and believing what they have accomplished some sort of special achievement, they have begun to lose the rigorous attitude required of party work. Others, while uttering truisms with respect to perestroika, cannot overcome bad habits of doing the bidding of people above them, while exploiting the process of deliberating upon issues to meddle in details, curbing and suppressing initiative, and tolerating no dissent whatever.

In order to overcome these and other faults in the cultivation of cadres and training of managers possessing incontestable qualities of political leadership, further improvement is needed in the democratic process of resolving cadre matters so as to assure a free expression of ideas by communists and other workers and to strengthen their influence on cadre selection and effective monitoring of their activities from below.

Following the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, new and efficacious forms of cadre work appeared in the arsenal of the republic party organization. Practical experience is now being gained in the open selection of cadres; a reserve force is undergoing training for future promotion; and the party committees are beginning to function effectively under conditions of democracy and glasnost.

Here it is possible to cite reports on the activities of managers to labor collectives and the population, evaluating their performance, even going so far as to express a lack of confidence in them and to pose the issue of relieving incompetent leaders of their duties, pending subsequent evaluation by the party committee. At the same time, party committees try to instill in managers an inner constraint for regular accountability as well as a need to consider and rely on public opinion and keep in touch with people.

To this end extensive use is made of conferences by party, trade union, and Komsomol members; plenums and sessions of the soviets of people's deputies; meetings of communists and labor collectives; the actions of the permanent commissions and organs of people's control;

the practice of submitting deputy inquiries; oral and written solicitations by citizens—in short, every means so that not a single manager remains beyond the range of observation and criticism.

A vital aspect of the democratization of cadre work is the widely developed practice of electing leaders from all walks of life. During the period since the 27th CPSU Conference labor collectives have elected more than 4,400 leaders from enterprises, sovkhozes, and institutions of science, culture, and public health, as well as other spheres of activity.

At the same time, in one out of every three cases elections are held on the basis of alternative choice with two or more candidates competing with one another. Generalizing upon the experience gained in the nomination of officials through the democratic process, it may be asserted with complete justification that the genuine participation of workers in electing leaders serves as a powerful lever for raising the level of social and political activity, stirring a lively interest in perestroika, and in achieving tangible results, together with a desire to help their elected leaders come to terms with problems at hand. Moreover, by receiving an electoral mandate to deal with the affairs of the collective, the leader can as a rule with confidence, and without fear of worker opposition, undertake radical changes, introducing innovations while eliminating everything outmoded that has been hampering progress. He can lend his willing support to those who advocate innovative solutions, while rejecting without difficulty the stereotyped solutions characteristic of his predecessors.

The course of democratizing cadre policy poses in a new way the issue of the role to be played by the party committees, and it complicates their tasks in trying to improve the voting process, freeing it from the encrustation of formalism and over-organization.

At the same time, there is a need for strengthening party guidance of these processes, skillfully blending political procedures with the firm and consistent execution of party policy, not by crude and arbitrary pressure tactics but by persuading people.

The transition to political methods of leadership, limiting the functions of party and state organs, increases the need for increasing efforts by the soviets of people's deputies to direct the social and economic development of their territories. The laws of the USSR on alterations and amendments to the USSR Constitution and on elections of USSR people's deputies sharply increase the authority and the potential of the soviets, creating the conditions necessary for overcoming arbitrary pressure tactics of leadership and endorsing principles of democracy and self-government.

Republic party committees are pursuing a policy, based upon the vital needs of the time, for restructuring the activities of the soviets; it is one that responds to the spirit of political reform, while acting to increase the real authority of the soviets to resolve problems that have arisen.

The operating experience of the soviets of people's deputies in Tselinograd Oblast is deserving of attention. Here, within a short time, perceptible changes have taken place in the public food supply. Housing and community projects are being erected at an unprecedented rate. Consumer goods production and public services are being expanded upon. The main thing, however, is that the forms and methods of operation are changing within the soviets: They are placing more and more reliance on the increasing activity of the labor collectives and local population in the oblast. In the course of preparations for sessions of the soviets, decisions in draft form are broadly discussed in the collectives and at civic meetings. Business meetings, "direct line" discussions, and "open letter days" are held. There are special exhibitions. Meetings of the deputies are arranged with department managers and the population. The theses of executive committee reports are published in the press. And a large number of the deputies express their opinions. All of this assures a vital discussion of timely problems. Touring sessions of the executive committee are carried out on a regular basis. Attesting to the increasing amount of activity by the deputies is the fact that in only a six-month period of 1988 one out of every five voters' mandates was fulfilled. There were 145 deputy inquiries submitted to the soviets, and more than 2,000 proposals and comments.

The absence of detailed supervision and daily interference in the affairs of the soviets necessitates a strengthening of measures to maintain party influence on the communists working in them. The party committees have begun to engage more frequently in the practice of reporting at plenums and to the buro, and party groups are more active within the soviets. There are growing demands with respect to the selection of party cadres. Workers who come to positions of leadership in the soviets now, as a rule, are people tempered by experience in the labor collectives. Approximately half of them began their careers as workers, and one out of five has management experience at enterprises, sovkhozes, or kolkhozes. Non-party members have begun to assert themselves more boldly in the work of the soviets. They comprise a third of all management-level workers in city and rayon executive committees.

A thorough review is also called for of the practice of labor union management. Sociological research conducted in the republic indicates that the authority of the unions in the labor collectives is growing extremely slowly. Forty-nine percent of persons polled believe that the unions do not serve to safeguard the lawful rights and interests of the workers; 31 percent believe that the union management is preoccupied with the distribution

of various privileges; and two thirds of them believe that the trade union committees provide no genuine assistance and still serve as a "shadow of the authorities."

One of the reasons for this lies in the repetition of old approaches going back to a time when the party committees looked upon trade union organs as an extension of the party apparatus and permitted extraneous interference in their affairs. At the same time, trade union leaders used to remain uninvolved with respect to the public food supply, critical housing problems, or improving the sphere of services, assuming that these were matters to be resolved by party officials.

The situation today is changing for the better. Party committees are involving trade union organizations in the management of the food and housing programs. The trade unions have assumed responsibility for the restructuring of all republic services and for affirming the principles of social justice. Moreover, a consistent policy is being maintained not only in the support of the party committees, but in a steady rise in the authority of the trade unions. The secretaries of the Central Committee have begun to participate on a regular basis in the work of the Presidium of the republic Council of Trade Unions, and regular meetings are now being held of party obkom first secretaries with trade union officials and activists.

The Komsomol has been playing a more and more prominent role in the life of the republic party organization. We support the efforts of young people to free themselves from formalism and bureaucracy, and to put an end to ostentation and emulating the outmoded practices of party organs.

Today the party leadership of the Komsomols is overcoming the tendency to excessive organization and rigid supervisory control. Full scope is given for exhibiting initiative together with a sense of responsibility for work undertaken.

There are a growing number of Komsomol cooperatives, funds for youth initiative, and youth associations operating on principles of economic self-sufficiency. For example, the Alma-Ata City Fund has under its sponsorship about 30 different kinds of clubs and associations. The youth organization "Contact," a center for scientific and technical creativity, has 59 industrial agreements with enterprises worth 800,000 rubles, including in its operation 60 creative groups with a total of more than 300 members.

Perestroika has given rise to a wide variety of initiatives aimed at the resolution of critical economic, social, ecological, and recreational problems as well as problems of other kinds. In the various cities of the republic these initiatives began with meetings and discussions, the circularizing of public appeals, and protests. And whenever there was a lack of adequate support from official bodies, or a failure to comprehend the sources of social

activity, . . . Independently formed groups came into direct confrontation with them. Under conditions of developing democracy and glasnost, the task of the party committees is to direct group activity into positive channels.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro had a principled and unprejudiced discussion on this very subject. Evidence of conscious pressure being exerted on the initiative of people by certain party committees, who as before continue to build a pattern of mutual relations with independent associations on the principle of holding on to and not letting go of authority, was subjected to severe criticism.

Thanks to the support received, many worker initiatives have grown into republic and Union-wide movements. Out of a small social group for saving Lake Balkhash and the Aral Sea emerged a committee attached to the Union of Writers of Kazakhstan. Now a broad public body of people from Moscow, Leningrad, and the Union republics have joined the movement to save the Aral Sea.

Not long ago even the republic Komsomol organizations lacked a sufficient arsenal of operating resources that were economically active. But times have changed. Now organizations under the sponsorship of the Komsomol based on self-government and voluntary membership—namely, the youth initiative funds—have become popular and are operating in Alma-Ata, Karaganda, and 10 other cities of the republic. A number of associations have already been established in 58 cities or rayon centers and officially been registered as youth organizations.

The Komsomol has taken a substantial step forward in meeting youth initiatives in the social sphere. Over the past three years, thanks to the forceful action and persistency of the Komsomol, the YHC movement has undergone development. Today 22 youth housing complexes and cooperatives in 14 oblasts are making a substantial contribution to the Housing-91 program. Judge for yourself. Two thousand young families managed to acquire new housing in 1988, and the volume of YHC construction was 2.5 times greater than during the two preceding years. At the present time more than 3,000 young men and women are at work on the YHC construction sites, and so popular have they become among youth that more than 45,000 pledges have been given to participate in the movement. It is necessary to include these young hands in the creative process.

The activity of molding public initiative, however, is occasionally used as a screen by all sorts of demagogues and loudmouths who lay claim to a leadership role as they try to exploit one group or another for their own selfish ends.

Moreover, there are instances of infiltration into independent clubs and associations by various extremists and anti-social elements, who, after taking over positions of leadership, exert pressure on young people to commit

unlawful acts. It is up to the party committees to take a firm stand with respect to such instances. Generally, it seems to me, there is only one criterion for evaluating these activities. To what extent are these activities in keeping with the interests of the people and with the interests and ends of socialism? To what extent do they serve the needs of perestroika? To what extent are they communist activities?

I cannot fail to touch upon the issue of improving the relations between nationalities. If we are to speak of the principal lesson we have learned from the events of December 1986, the gist of it is this: There is no such thing in nature, nor can there be, as a purely nationalistic problem. When it shows up, such a problem is always closely interrelated with a broad range of political, social, and economic factors.

Much has been done in compliance with the plan for the cultural development of Kazakhstan's multinational population. I should particularly like to stress the concern of the party committees for establishing mother-tongue and Russian bilingualism. Resolutions adopted by the Kazakh CP Central Committee on improving the study of the Kazakh and Russian languages formed the basis of this multi-faceted effort. In a comparatively short period a widespread network of schools and preschool facilities was developed in the republic offering education and instruction in the various national languages. Hundreds of study circles were opened in which, under the guidance of qualified instructors, people could satisfy an interest in studying the language of groups with whom they live side by side. Kazakh-to-Russian and Russian-to-Kazakh dictionaries, together with textbooks, phrase books, and teaching guides have been published in large circulations for those who have decided to study a language independently.

We also realize, of course, that over the past two years we have made a major effort to eliminate mistakes that accumulated for decades, and a good deal of time and energy will be devoted to them in the future. However, time will not wait for us to divest ourselves of the burden of the past, and then with a sigh of relief turn to confront what is new. It would therefore be extremely dangerous to repeat the previous mistake of remaining oblivious of new problems, arising inevitably under the influence of the objective process of emerging national consciousness. Our response to these problems must not only be well conceived and fully measure up to the situation as it develops; it must also be anticipatory and timely.

We have already acquired definite experience in this plan. Throughout the republic special public commissions on inter-nationality relations are at work with party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, and corresponding staff sections are functioning within the party committees. At the present time, however, when the tumultuous process is going on of purging nationality policy of negative layers of the past, and when we are interpreting in a creative way Leninist principles of

internationalism and learning how to apply it under specific historical conditions in the development of Soviet society, this effort is clearly not enough. Precisely for this reason, in the course of preparing for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the nationality issue, the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro decided to establish in the republic a political and social Center for the Dissemination of Leninist Nationality Policy, which now includes under it the Alma-Ata Branch of the Central Museum of V. I. Lenin, the scientific research group for the study of inter-nationality relations of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, along with a number of other cultural and research institutions.

Prominent scientists have already taken up their duties in the new institution, including civics scholars, economists, linguists, sociologists, as well as leading figures in literature and the arts, representatives of social organizations and movements, people's deputies, and party and soviet officials. The task of the Center's associates is to conduct an in-depth study of the needs and interests of all peoples, ethnic groups, and nationalities living in Kazakhstan without exception with a view to improving inter-nationality relations.

Of course, the specific return on the establishment of this new entity lies in the future. Before the Center can begin

to provide sound recommendations, time is required to lay a firm scientific foundation and to gather reliable information about the complex and at times contradictory processes that occur in the sensitive area of relations between nationalities.

\*\*\*

In summing up overall results, it may be said that perestroyka in the republic has acquired an irreversible character. In terms of the economy, and in the cultural sphere, as in the work of the party which is so important at the present stage in the development of socialism, perestroyka is becoming a mechanism for change; and although it is moving less rapidly than we might wish, nevertheless, it is picking up speed. After soberly assessing the situation, we may say that upon this foundation, which is now securely in place, we shall work to create a new and more progressive society.

This is the task that the republic party committee is facing today.

COPYRIGHT:Izdatelstvo TsK KPSS "Pravda".  
"Voprosy istorii KPSS". 1989

### Rescinding of Stalinist Decrees Against Writers Urged

18000729 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 13, 29 Mar 89 p 11

[Article by Valentin Osipov, director of the All-Union Center for Propaganda of Fictional Literature, USSR Union of Writers: "The Resolutions of the 40's-50's..."]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has rescinded the resolution "On the Journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD" and "On the Opera 'Great Friendship' by V. Muradeli". Thus, the true mark of Caine was removed from society.

The commission on the literary heritage of the remarkable poet A. Fatyanov recently demanded through the newspaper LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA—and justly so—that the resolution "On the Film 'Great Life'" be rescinded.

Yet we must remember that the conveyor of Stalinism produced not only these two resolutions during those dark times for our culture. There are many other such expansive political accusations and generalizations. For example, "On the Repertoire of Dramatic Theatres..." (1946), "On the Journal KROKODIL" (1948), "On Measures for Improving the Journal OGONEK" (1948), "On the Journal ZNAMYA" (1949), "On Shortcomings of the Journal KROKODIL and Measures for Improving It" (1951), "On Cases of Gross Political Distortions of the Texts of Demyan Bednyy's Works" (1952), "On Errors Allowed by Chkalov and Chita Publishing Houses in Publishing the Compositions of M. I. Mikhaylov" (1952)...

After the names of A. Akhmatova, M. Zoshchenko and the great composers, after A. Fatyanov, the lists of names for strict denunciation in those years contained such writers as D. Bednyy, M. Vodopyanov, A. Gladkov, Yu. German, E. Kazakevich, M. Komissarova, G. Ryklin, V. Sayanov, M. Slonimskiy, the brothers Tur, A. Shteyn, Yur. Yanovskiy, as well as such well-known leaders of cinema as G. Kozintsev, V. Pudovkin, I. Trauberg, and S. Eizenshteyn...

We must also be aware of the fact that a terrible blow was dealt to Sholokhov. In 1949, after being kept in the archives for two decades, suddenly Stalin's letter to F. Kon was published. This letter contains the following lines about "Quiet on the Don": "...Comrade Sholokhov has allowed a number of gross errors and incorrect information..." The effect of the letter, which saw the light of day in the 12th volume of Stalin's works, did nothing to soften either the expression of "a great writer of our time", or the desire that the book not be taken "out of sale". Of course, the novel planned at the IKhL [Institute of Fictional Literature] was stopped. The directive was issued to write praises to Stalin into it and to delete the reference to Commander of the 2nd Cavalry Mironov... Fortunately, the mockery of this outstanding

work did not continue for long. Stalin died, and the text of the novel was restored in the very next edition, although complete purification of "Quiet on the Don" occurred only in the first edition of Sholokhov's works published after his death.

So, is it necessary to maintain the former directives from the late 40's which have not yet been rescinded? I am convinced that they have only one historical value—as a reliable illustration of a difficult time for literature.

### Language Issue in Ukrainian Theater Discussed

18000664 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
5 Feb 89 pp 1,4

[Dialogue between drama studies specialist R. Kolomiyets and PRAVDA UKRAINY Cultural Department Manager A. Povnitsa: "The Dialectics of the National—A Dialogue about the Paths and Crossroads of the Ukrainian Stage"]

[Text] Here are two preliminary paragraphs. First, something about the topic of this conversation. During a recent meeting with scientific and cultural leaders at the CPSU Central Committee attention was focused on a paradoxical situation that had been discovered: at times very well-educated people are unable to distinguish the national from the international or are unable to understand the dialectics of the international and the national. A definite problem in understanding this dialectic can also be observed at times in the animated discussions about ways to develop the Ukrainian National Theater. Quite naturally, though, these issues are not the easiest: what should the National Theater be and how should it make its way to the heart of perestroika's spiritual channel. These questions have become the topic of conversation.

And here are a few words about the interlocutor. The keen, impartial statements that Candidate of Art Criticism R. Kolomiyets has made to the press and on television and radio about the painful problems of Ukrainian theatrical life usually arouse lively response among theater experts and lovers. Some of his opponents feel that conditions in the Ukrainian theater are "no worse than those of the people" and reproach the critic for muddying the waters and dramatizing the situation. Several subjects in R. Kolomiyets' article "The Break Toward Truth. National and International Traits of the Ukrainian Theater Face" (PRAVDA UKRAINY, 18 March 1988) where he talked about three productions by the Kiev Drama Theater imeni I. Franko and, in connection with them, the positive and frightening trends in theatrical life within the context of our spiritual being also aroused similar reproaches. It has been almost a year since that publication, but the alarms have not dissipated.

[A. Povnitsa] Rostislav Grigoryevich, how would you feel if we begin this difficult discussion about contemporary Ukrainian stage with the consolatory argument that, they say, our situation is not very good, but it is no worse than that of our neighbors?

[R. Kolomiyets] The essence of this is not the sum total of the dramatic and stage deficiencies by which we exceed, for example, the Georgian or Lithuanian theaters, but is about the fact that the Ukrainian people, with their glorious cultural traditions and spiritual capabilities, deserve a better theater than the one with which they have been forced to be satisfied.

[A. Povnitsa] What are the reasons for this discrepancy?

[R. Kolomiyets] Our theater today exists in a truncated form and with a damaged root system. It uses the Ukrainian language, but is it Ukrainian? I have in mind the costs of yesterday's incompleteness and the existential inferiority of Ukrainian national culture. Yes, we built a reliable foundation for Ukrainian Soviet Theater in the 20's, but then there were the dramatic 30's. The intensity of the Ukrainian Theater Movement began to decline steadily with the loss of Les Kurbas and the cessation of the very fruitful collaboration-rivalry of the Traditionalists (the Theater imeni I. Franko) and the Experimentalists ("Berezil.") The monopolization and cannonization of Ukrainian Traditionalism flowed in the spirit of general collectivization in the Soviet culture of the 30's. Multi-national Soviet art had to be in different languages to illustrate the ideological dogmas of Stalinism's victories. And the national element in art was reduced to a souvenir framework and booklet coloring. All aspects of the Ukrainian Theater—"He who is not with us is against us"—were driven into the narrow corridor of the musical-dramatic attribute, as if that had been preordained inherent to it. And what did we get? Now 26 of the 35 troops have been legitimized with the status of "musical-dramatic" or are "theaters of drama and musical comedy," and "syncreticism," i.e. the combination of dramatic words, songs and dancing into a performance, is now hardly even considered a national specialty. And this at a time when our musical-dramatic theater had for all of its more than one-hundred years of life amassed only several melodramas and musical comedies in addition to those created for the most part in the previous century. There is no contemporary musical drama. And the result is—to keep from being ruined!—we fill empty billboards with operettas, to include foreign operettas. In general, regardless of how sad it is, today's Ukrainian musical dramatic performance has degenerated into a routine variety show, an entertaining spectacle.

[A. Povnitsa] Your words could be construed as a condemnation of Ukrainian musical drama...

[R. Kolomiyets] Let us not look to the resourceful people who can construe my words in an abusive or similar manner. And let us refrain from nostalgic sighs. We are

talking about the theater's passage. We are not discussing some cosmetic repair, but rather a decisive reorganization of the Ukrainian stage.

[A. Povnitsa] And a reorganization (especially a decisive one) means that there will be a break-up. But what about tradition?

[R. Kolomiyets] We must get rid of the standard opinions of our tradition which we have taken exclusively from the customs and mores of the 19th Century Ukrainian village. It goes without saying that the achievements that Ukrainian classical theater managed at the turn of the last century were exactly linked with social-psychological vigilance in the artistic assimilation of that village life. Even if we remember "Naymichka," "Bezstalanna" or "Khazyain" which were written, set and perfectly coordinated by our leading figures. But we will not forget that the Ukrainian stage was forcibly driven into these confines, "under the eaves," by the tsar and that it suffocated within those confines... Indeed the city life of the Ukrainian people and, correspondingly, the Ukrainian intelligentsia, have practically not been represented on the Ukrainian stage. Lesya Ukrainka passed by it without recognition.

How many "gaping summits?"! And to our embarrassment even today we do not have the Lesya Ukrainka theater. After the experiences of Les Kurbas, the path the Mikol Kulish suggested to the Ukrainian stage was not developed. And up to now Ivan Kocherga has not been unraveled. And with all of this we feel that we have ascended to a theatrical Olympus?

[A. Povnitsa] What do you see as reference markers?

[R. Kolomiyets] We must certainly have a national memorial theater where our classics would be revived in the immortality of the their creators' conceptions and with complete stage presentation. I suggest that in addition to the purely restorational work of purifying the real traditions from the canons, stratifications and cliches, such a theater would become a proving ground to test the new capabilities for introducing the classical legacy to contemporary problems, rhythms and intonations. In addition, we must also have different theaters, if only with two trends. There must be experimental theaters in which the Ukrainian stage would well up through the decades that were neglected. I am speaking about the 20th Century birth of the musical-dramatic genre of the musical, folk-opera, rock-opera and so forth. And we must have theaters in which the Ukrainian stage would reveal the unique traits that are focused and expressed in various of the republic's regions. It is generally not worth dictating the direction for theatrical development. Let theaters of various types spring up. Those that are viable will survive. And I also do not think that musical drama will disappear.

[A. Povnitsa] Now let us talk about language and putting the language status of theaters in order. Unfortunately the UkSSR Ministry of Culture has not set this work up in the proper order and some Ukrainian musical-drama theaters are violating this status.

[R. Kolomiyets] To say they are violating it is putting it mildly. Entire theater collectives are directly trying to prove the legality and even the unavoidability of theatrical bilingualism.

[A. Povnitsa] What is driving them.

[R. Kolomiyets] Naivete and at the same time, pardon my sharpness, cynicism. Alas, viewer demand for the theater is declining and some collectives plan on keeping themselves afloat by the "prestigious" Russian language. They say that Ukrainian is frightening off the urban audience. It is not the language that is frightening them off, it is poor plays and performances that are frightening them off! Take a look at box-offices. Bilingual theaters are suffering exactly the same decay as Ukrainian theaters.

[A. Povnitsa] At times one hears that whether we like it or not, city life is being deprived of its national color.

[R. Kolomiyets] But the fact that the rural population speaks organic Ukrainian, whereas the urban population expresses itself with a mixture and that Ukrainian is no longer "prestigious" in the city is not an objective natural law. There is it, and it is our misfortune. Who if not the theater, the protector of spiritual values, is to help the people return to their own national origins?! In reality a bilingual theater cripples both languages. In short, it debases the idea of mutual enrichment between the cultures of the two fraternal peoples.

[A. Povnitsa] When the issue of bilingualism was touched upon at the last meeting of the Ministry of Culture's Artistic Council for Theatrical Art, a theater director from Zaporozhye reported that their play "Interdevochka" has already existed as "Interdivcha" for two months. This means that the collective is switching over to the Ukrainian language. And then an economic digression followed: during the years when plays were only in Ukrainian (a rather distant time), the theater suffered under the burden of losses, a minimum of 100,000 rubles per year. They promoted plays in Russian and the economics brightened, and now "we are making it without loans." It now means that we have to go full circle and that will be nothing to write home about.

One must certainly take this bookkeeping fact into account, but what does it mean? That the people of Zaporozhye have become estranged from Ukrainian? This certainly is the case, for the entire city does not have a single school or nursery in the Ukrainian language and the director is correct—"the theater is not the place to teach it." However, one can certainly say that neither the

Russian nor the Ukrainian language will become stronger if the theater continues to speak to the spectator in two languages interchangeably. Where there is interchangeability, there is alternation. And what you will get is neither Russian or Ukrainian, but instead something in-between—"Yuzhnyi" as the primary producer from the Crimea clearly defined for the artistic council (and he did it by first softening his agreement in an overacting manner, then pronouncing this word). By the way, an almost anecdotal event was promulgated at that same council: as they were sitting in a bus taking the play "Sladkaya Yagoda" out for a regional tour the actors asked their artistic chief, "Which language shall we play it in?"

Rostislav Grigoryevich, do you agree that all of this will lead to no good?

[R. Kolomiyets] Republic television recently broadcast a Zaporozhye Ukrainian Musical-Drama Theater imeni Shchors performance of A. Rybakov's "Deti Arbata." It was done in, and I cannot select another word, some strange "Russian-scarcely Russian" dialect. One develops a distressing impression from the following events: actors from the Dnepropetrovsk Ukrainian Musical-Drama Theater were asked by a tele-journalist which language was easier for them to do dialogue in and they answered, "Let's do it in Russian;" the Crimean Ukrainian Theater of Drama and Musical Comedy troop is clearly helpless in Ukrainian repertoire; and actors from the Ternopolskiy Ukrainian Musical-Drama Theater imeni Shevchenko become confused with their words on stage, thinking in one language, but saying the text in another.

[A. Povnitsa] A month ago one of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee's resolutions approved a work plan to expand the sphere of the Ukrainian language's function and further develop a harmonic national- and Russian-bilingualism. This plan specifically envisions completing work to organize the language status of the Republic's theater in 1989.

[R. Kolomiyets] Well, there is still hope that the Central Committee will not again have to return to this problem.

[A. Povnitsa] Now a word about those reader letters to the editor that you know about...

[Kolomiyets] There have been a number of opportunities for me to collate my thoughts with the opinions of PRAVDA UKRAINY readers that the problem of Ukrainian theater national authenticity also concerns them. And this is what is remarkable—the reader not only feels the acuteness of the problem, but reminds us, theater officials, that in the heat of the battle we must not forget about the Russian and Ukrainian peoples' blood relationship and must not forget the relationship and intermingling of our cultures. Of course we remember this. And we do not have the right not to take this into

account. But we must show more political wisdom, social tact and artistic sensitivity in articulating, preserving and developing the essence of national traits in Ukrainian culture.

[A. Povnitsa] A reader taking part in our conversation could possible ask, "What is 'national' in the theater?"

[R. Kolomiets] I think that a reader understands as well as we do that that which is national in the theater only begins with the language, that national-cultural authenticity is not an external attribute, but rather an expression of the national attitude of the people and their spiritual structure, if I can state it that way. And the task of the theater is to artistically try to find the meaning of and reproduce these deep, essential things. Unfortunately our theater seldom passes this test, although, you will agree, this is a task of the highest spiritual difficulty.

[A. Povnitsa] What names do you link with the resolution of this task—the revival and renovation of the Ukrainian stage?

[R. Kolomiets] Making prophesies and foretelling oblivion and abuse for one person and a radiant future for another are thankless tasks. We have to be in the mood for a task that does not promise quick victories. How do we know where the zones of penetration toward paths moving the Ukrainian theater toward truth are found? Perhaps a fresh wind will blow from our "small stage," primarily from Frankovsk in Kiev, from Kharkov and Lvov where new theatrical horizons are being felt, if only from time to time, under "sold out" notices that are unique for Ukrainian theater. Perhaps we should be more attentive in getting accustomed to the pioneer of self-supporting stage in the Republic, to the experimental theater-studio managed by V. Pilipenko. And perhaps "Teatr na Podole," led by one of our most interesting directors, V. Malakhov, will finally astound the audience. And Frankovskite I. Afanasyev's purposeful experiments in again trying to understand the Ukrainian classics are worthy of rapt attention. And what is V. Semenets from Kiev's KIN [motion picture industry plant] Theater preparing for us in the near future? What is making I. Boris from Ivano-Frankovsk happy? Or S. Moiseyev from Uzhgorod?

[A. Povnitsa] Excuse me, Rostislav Grigoryevich, but our readers could see your futuristic fantasies as an attempt, even if involuntary, to create a new Ukrainian theatrical hierarchy to replace the old, one in which national artists always play above and beyond praise, where those that were deserving are masters and young people have prospects.

[R. Kolomiets] I hope that the reader will find that we are correct. And I also hope that even today, as we are now speaking about the paths and crossroads of the Ukrainian stage, somewhere on this stage an unknown young talent is announcing himself to someone higher. Who knows, perhaps he will be the one to astound our minds and hearts with a theatrical masterpiece and express the very innermost hopes and moreover, offer a fundamentally new vision of man and the world through the magical prism of the theater. I suggest that the reader not consider this an idle dream, for it is already happening now.

[A. Povnitsa] Yes, that day is at hand. We associate the positive changes in the Ukrainian theater and the hopes for such changes with the transformations that are taking place in the country and with perestroika.

[R. Kolomiets] I am convinced that there is not a single theatrical problem today that cannot be resolved outside the social context of time. And this is not just reverence for perestroika. If we have recognized that the reign of Stalin and the "barracks socialism" that it gave birth to were certainly not in conformity with the natural laws, but were a zigzag in post-revolutionary social development, then we have more than enough basis for a fundamental examination of the moss-covered concepts and petrified stereotypes, designs and dogmas that have formed in our art. We must create a convincing alternative to demagogic theory and the practice of the "high road" along which we are directed to move without a moment's hesitation and without glancing around and are still to consider ourselves fortunate. We must refuse to have normatives and writing samples and a levelings of creative personality attached to the artist and the artistic process. The contemporary concept of Soviet art must be based on the recognition that artistic progress has a multiplicity of routes.

I again want to remember "Berezil" who was the personification of inquisitive polyphonics. I am for new "berezili" and for the coexistence of dissimilar creative directions and schools and individual styles—for many creative voices.

[PRAVDA UKRAINY] What is at the core of perestroika? Man! In clearing the territory for free creative search, we must first consider the initial humanitarian foundation of creativity and the strategic goals of the spiritual ennoblement and spiritual elevation of Soviet man, the patriot and internationalist. Only then can the Ukrainian theater throw off the fetters of pseudo-national specificity and begin to feed on real national juices and not conjunctural grafts.

**OGONEK Chronicles Sakharov's Differences  
with Soviet Regimes**

18000623 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 8  
19-26 Feb 89 pp 7, 30-31

[Article by V.Beletskaya: "The One Who Appeals"]

[Text] Over 80 organizations nationwide nominated him their deputy, including the famous automobile plant in Gorkiy where only recently (until the end of 1986) Andrey Dmitriyevich was living in exile. I attended many of those pre-election meetings; the academician's name would come up among the first, and sometimes he would be the only candidate to be proposed. I saw meeting rooms of research institutes and workers' clubs filled to capacity and heard the thunder of applause when this slightly hunched but unbending man with a shy smile walked to the microphone. I was in the crowd on Brestskaya Street in front of the House of Cinema, a crowd that numbered in the thousands, and together with the other residents of my district who could not fit inside signed my name on the list passed around by the Sakharov election committee. Sakharov's list was the longest; many hundreds of Moscovites signed it.

Of course, I did not for a moment doubt the sincerity of those who put their trust in the scientist. And yet, time and again my memory would call up the bitter lines of Pasternak: "They curse you with the same fervor they had in praising." Here, it was the reverse: the one who had once been cursed was now praised. Yet, the pain remained, the pain for our society. Only very recently, the scientist who appealed to truth, conscience and openness was being attacked in newspapers, magazines and on the radio; he was being branded—not without the journalistic accusatory pathos—a renegade, a slanderer and an enemy of the Soviet Union. After that, does a journalist have the right to write about Sakharov, even if the publication for which he works did not condemn him at the time? Every reader is justified in saying: "Go on, write; it is permitted now."

Let the life story of this extraordinary individual be told by documents, those authentic and dispassionate witnesses of the time. Many of them will appear in our press for the first time. And one more thing: let this article contain writings about the academician only by those who thought identically at the time, who have always thought so and have spoken and written about Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov in the same way. But first, let him speak himself:

A.D.Sakharov: "I was born on May 21, 1921, in Moscow. My father was a well-known professor of physics and the author of several textbooks, a collection of problems and popular science books. My childhood passed in a large communal apartment, but most rooms were occupied by our relatives and only a handful of neighbors were strangers. We had the traditional spirit of a large and strong family: that of active love for work, respect for skill, mutual family support and love of

literature and science. My father played the piano, most frequently works by Chopin, Grieg, Beethoven and Skryabin. During the civil war, he made a living playing piano in silent movie houses. The heart of the family—and I realize this with enormous gratitude—was grandmother Mariya Petrovna, who died right before the war, at the age of 79. I felt family influence particularly strongly since I studied at home during my first years at school, and even later I had trouble becoming friends with kids my own age.

I graduated from high school in 1938 with excellence and entered the same year the physics department of the Moscow University. I graduated from the university, also with excellence, during the war, in 1942, in evacuation in Ashkhabad. During the summer and fall of 1942, I spent several weeks in Kovrovo, where I was first sent to work after finishing the university, but then I worked in lumber production near Melekes. My first and most lasting impressions of the life of workers and peasants during that harsh period belong to that time. In September 1942 I was sent to a large plant on the Volga, where I worked as engineer-inventor until 1945. At the plant, I patented a number of inventions in the area of production control. (I had been unable to pursue active scientific research at the university.) In 1944, while still working at the plant, I wrote several articles on theoretical physics and sent them to Moscow for review. Those first works were never published, but they gave me the self-confidence that is indispensable to every scientist.

"In 1945, I entered the graduate program at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Physics Institute imeni Lebedev. My advisor, who greatly influenced me, was Igor Yegorovich Tamm, a major figure in theoretical physics, who later became an academician and a Nobel Prize laureate. In 1948, I joined the research group working on the development of thermonuclear weapons. The group was led by Tamm. The following 20 years I spent working in total secrecy and with extreme intensity. We were convinced of the vital importance of that work in balancing the forces in the world and fascinated by the scale of the work itself."

A quote from a letter of reference for Academician A.D.Sakharov by the USSR Academy of Sciences' Physics Institute: "Sakharov has held several managerial positions; in recent years he has been deputy scientific director of the institute. The idea of the magnetic thermonuclear reactor proposed by him and developed jointly with I.Ye.Tamm in 1950 became the basis of the work on managed thermonuclear fusion in the USSR. Three times (in 1953, 1956 and 1962) he was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor. He won the State Prize in 1953 and the Lenin Prize in 1956. In 1953, he was elected full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Subsequently he has been elected to a number of foreign academies and holds honorary doctorates from many universities.

"In 1969, he returned to the Academy of Sciences' Physics Institute, to the department of theoretical physics, where he had previously done graduate work, and has worked there first as senior research associate and currently as chief research associate. He developed a number of fundamental ideas in the theory of elementary particles, astrophysics and the theory of gravity."

But let us return to Andrey Dmitriyevich's tale about his life:

A.D.Sakharov: "Between 1953 and 1968 my political views underwent a serious change. In particular, even in the 1953-62 period, my participation in the development of thermonuclear weapons, preparation for thermonuclear tests and the tests themselves was accompanied by a growing realization of the moral problems stemming from those weapons. Starting in the late 1950s I began to actively advocate a ban or a limit on nuclear testing. In 1961, this brought me into conflict with Khrushchev. I was one of the initiators of the 1963 Moscow Treaty banning testing in three spheres, i.e., in the air, the water and the outer space. Starting in 1964, when I spoke out on the problems in our biology, and especially in 1967, the range of my involvement has started to grow. In 1967 I joined the Committee for the Defence of Lake Baykal.

"My first letters in defence of prisoners date from 1966-67. By 1968, it became necessary to make a broad, open and honest statement. This was the reason why I wrote my article 'Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom'."

At first, the Soviet press ignored the article, then it began to mention it unfavorably. Many people, including even some sympathetic critics, thought the ideas expressed in that work very naive and childish. Nevertheless, I now feel that many changes in world and even Soviet policies have followed the general course of those ideas."

A quote from "Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom", 1968:

"The disunity of mankind threatens to destroy it... In the face of this threat, any action that increases the disunity of mankind, such as promulgation of ideas claiming that world ideologies or nations are incompatible, is insane and criminal. Only worldwide cooperation in the conditions of intellectual freedom and highest moral ideals of socialism and labor, stripped of dogma and pressures by the hidden interests of the ruling classes, meets the requirements for preserving the civilization..."

"Three technical factors of thermonuclear weapons make a thermonuclear war a threat to the very existence of civilization. They are the enormous destructive power of the thermonuclear explosion, the relatively low cost of nuclear missiles and the practical impossibility to defend against a massive nuclear missile attack.

"The capitalist world could not help giving rise the socialist world, but the socialist world must avoid destroying the soil that nurtured it by armed violence: it would be suicidal under present conditions. Socialism should ennoble this soil by its good example..."

B.L.Altshuler, Ph.D. in Physics and Mathematics and a student of Andrey Dmitriyevich, wrote about him in 1981, when the persecution campaign was especially fierce: "I have heard about Sakharov from childhood. I recall a silly ditty sung by the host of the New Year's concert in the Trade Union House's Hall of Columns on December 31, 1953, which was broadcast on the radio: 'Who is it over there, dancing away? Who else but the youthful choice of the Academy!' (Sakharov never danced, but he indeed was elected to the academy at a very young age, at 32.) In other words, he was mentioned among the prominent personages of the union. The last name, which was a secret, was not mentioned, of course, but the ditty stuck in memory. Only later did I find out who it was about.

"I met Andrey Dmitriyevich in 1968; he agreed to be my reader when I defended my dissertation on the general theory of relativity. I was 29 years old at the time.

"The difference between Sakharov and many other people is that he does not know the difference between conviction and action, between words and the principles by which one lives. Every new nuclear test, inasmuch as it raises the general level of radiation in the atmosphere, will have thousands of nameless victims in the long run. According to Sakharov himself, this was the reason why he began to speak out against nuclear testing. In a country where no one cared about people, the idea itself was rather bizarre, to say nothing of concrete actions born of that idea. But Sakharov felt personal responsibility for the tragedy of the people.

"Humanism is the basis of all public actions by Sakharov. When the scale of mass repressions of the past came to light, he took it as a personal tragedy. It must never be repeated. Sakharov never thought of himself as a 'little man' who knows that nothing can ever be changed anyway, and he felt that he bears full responsibility for whatever happens.

"As far as I can judge based on many years of acquaintance, this inner position is an integral part of his personality.

"In the summer of 1964, the election to the Academy of Sciences was held. One of the candidates was Lysenko's man Nuzhdin, and Lysenko was a favorite of Khrushchev's. Sakharov asked to speak. 'Let those who want to share the responsibility for the most shameful page in the history of Soviet science may vote for Nuzhdin,' he said. Sakharov was supported by others and Nuzhdin's candidacy failed. This microscopic show of academic independence had mega-consequences. To compensate him for moral distress, Lysenko demanded that Khrushchev

made him vice president of the Academy of Sciences. When M.V.Keldysh, then president of the Academy of Sciences, explained to Khrushchev that it was impossible since the Academy's voting is secret, Khrushchev became very angry and declared that the Academy of Sciences is a czarist invention and ordered a decree to be drafted transferring all of the Academy's research institutes to ministries and agencies. Nikita Sergeyevich reportedly said about Sakharov: 'Sakharov sticks his nose into matters that are none of his business. First he opposed nuclear tests, and now he meddles in the Academy elections.'"

Memorandum from A.D.Sakharov to Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee L.I.Brezhnev:

"...I am expressing my opinion that the following should characterize a society that should be urgently built, to which end urgent state reforms must be implemented, in addition to efforts by citizens to develop their social conscience:

"1. The chief aim of the state should be to defend and protect the basic rights of its citizens. Protection of human rights is above all other aims.

"2. All activities of state organizations should be based on law, which should be stable and fully known to citizens. All citizens, agencies and organizations must obey the law.

"3. The happiness of the people is assured by, among other things, their liberty in work, consumption, personal life, education and cultural and public activities; by the freedom of belief and conscience and the freedom to exchange information and travel.

"4. Openness helps the public exercise control over the legality, justice and usefulness of all decisions, makes the entire system more efficient, ensures that the system of power is scientific and democratic and promotes the progress, welfare and security of the country.

"5. Competition, glasnost and absence of privilege assure an efficient and just system to reward the work, talent and initiative of all citizens..."

A.D.Sakharov: "When the 'Thoughts' article appeared abroad, I was removed from secret projects and banished from the privileges of Soviet nomenklatura. After 1972, the pressure on me and my loved ones continued to mount, repression increased everywhere, and as I learned more and more about it I had to speak out in defense of this or that person almost on a daily basis. During those years I frequently spoke out about peace and disarmament, the freedoms of contacts, travel, information and conscience, against death penalty and about environmental protection and nuclear energy."

Letter from members of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

"We consider it necessary to inform the public about our attitude to the conduct of Academician A.D.Sakharov.

"In recent years, Academician A.D.Sakharov has abandoned his research and made a number of statements defaming our state and the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union..."

"A.D.Sakharov tries to justify those statements, which are profoundly alien to the interests of all progressive people, by crude distortions of Soviet reality and invented complaints about the socialist state. In his statements he has essentially sided with the most reactionary imperialist circles who actively oppose the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems and against the policy line of our party and government to increase scientific and cultural contacts and strengthen peace among nations. Thus, A.D.-Sakharov has effectively become a tool of hostile propaganda against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries..."

"We express our indignation over A.D.Sakharov's statements and decisively condemn his actions which compromise the honor and dignity of a Soviet scientist. We hope that Academician Sakharov will think about his actions."

Forty academicians signed the letter; it was published in PRAVDA on August 29, 1973. On September 1, IZVESTIYA and other newspapers published similar letters from members of the Academy of Medical Sciences, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the academies of sciences of union republics and finally from research institutes. The charges against the scientist were truly monstrous. He who has been constantly calling for peace and cooperation was accused of promoting world war; he who has spoken in defence of human rights, freedom and openness was called a hater of mankind.

Workers, writers and composers soon joined the scientists. It is frightening to read today such letters and articles, full of righteous anger and signed by seemingly honest, respectable people.

"Who do you serve?" asked writer Vadim Kozhevnikov on the pages of IZVESTIYA. "Behind it all, I see nothing by scientific and creative exhaustion, a Herostrates' desire to torch the sacred sense of Motherland, to gain a malodorous fame for yourself. Who needs this, otherwise?" screamed his letter.

But even at that time there were people who wrote differently about Sakharov.

"A Peculiar Person

"I belong to a rare category of men who dislike celebrities, even fear them..."

"Yet, when totally unexpectedly (but preceded by a telephone call from Moscow, of course), I saw at our dinner table in Kiev a shy, silent and most importantly completely non-drinking academician (it is the kind of table I am not used to, to be honest), I could not believe myself. I was also rather puzzled why the two tiny pieces of herring, which we had obtained with such difficulty and which my wife had so carefully prepared, had to be heated.

"Andrey Dmitriyevich does not eat anything cold," shrugged Lyusya (Yelena Bonner), his wife. 'All scientists have their peculiarities... You will also have to heat the fruit dessert, and shut the balcony door, too.'

"Well, I did have to shut the door.

"Indeed, Andrey Dmitriyevich has many peculiarities. Not only the herring, the dessert or the utter dismay in front of the railroad ticket window, where the card of the Hero of Socialist Labor (three times, no less!) quickly resolves all transportation problems. He may have 2 or 3 dozen of other such peculiarities, but he has one which those who deem themselves our country's leaders have been unable to get used to or even understand. The man is afraid of nothing. Nothing at all. And nobody!

"What is it, boldness, bravery, fearlessness, courage or heroism? No, none of these great and lofty terms fits Sakharov. I think that he simply cannot feel fear. Or perhaps he does not think about it. He does not have time even for more important things than that. There are so many people and so many lives.

"I would have liked to call myself one of Sakharov's closest friends, but I do not have the right to do so: we see each other very rarely and our personalities are very different (my view that nothing can even be discussed without the usual 100 grams of vodka is, alas, alien to him), and besides I am not particularly vainglorious or ambitious in this respect, and yet... And yet, I am infinitely proud (I stress these two words) that this most noble, pure, fearless, kind and probably the most learned (this I know nothing about, since at school I had to be specially tutored in physics) man is favorably disposed towards me and even forgives me certain sins.

"And I am also proud that I alone, and no one else in the whole world, have a photograph of Andrey Dmitriyevich which I personally took in Moscow, at the hospital; a photograph that no LIFE, PARIS MATCH or STERN has or will ever have. It is mine alone. It stands on a bookshelf. He is smiling in his typical, Sakharov's, shy way. It is the first thing I see mornings, when I wake up. And I feel a certain warmth... Because I not only love this great peculiar individual but I am not afraid of him, either."

Signed: Viktor Nekrasov, 1980

A.D.Sakharov: "In 1975, I was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. It was a great honor for me, and a recognition of the achievements of the entire human rights movement in the USSR. In January 1980, I was stripped of all USSR government awards (the Order of Lenin, the three titles Hero of Socialist Labor and the Lenin and State Prizes) and exiled to Gorkiy, where I lived practically in total isolation and under round-the-clock police surveillance. That action of the authorities was totally illegal and was a manifestations of the growing political repression in our country at that time."

A quote from "Peace, Progress and Human Rights", the Nobel Prize Lecture, 1975:

"Peace, progress and human rights are three inherently connected goals; it is impossible to attain one while neglecting the others...

"I am convinced that international trust, mutual understanding, disarmament and international security are unthinkable without an open society, freedom of information, glasnost and freedom to travel and choose the country of residence. I am also convinced that freedom of conscience, along with other civil liberties, is the basis of technological progress and a guarantee against the use of its achievements to the detriment of mankind, and it is thus the basis of economic and social progress and the political guarantee of effective protection of social rights...

"In reality, all major aspects of progress are closely interrelated: one of them can not be done away with without risking to destroy the entire edifice of civilization. Progress is indivisible. Yet, intellectual and spiritual factors play a special role in the mechanics of progress."

How did Soviet scientists react to the fact that one of their number was awarded the Nobel Prize? They condemned it.

The statement of condemnation was signed by 72 members of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Yet, world-renowned physicists Pyotr Leonidovich Kapitsa, Vitaliy Lazarevich Ginzburg and Dmitriy Ivanovich Blokhintsev, great mathematician Ivan Matveyevich Vinogradov and a large number of other scientists from various fields refused to sign that shameful statement.

The denouement occurred suddenly. On January 22, 1980, in plain daylight, Andrey Dmitriyevich was seized on a Moscow street and on the same day, without trial, dispatched to Gorkiy.

"To Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Chairman of the USSR Committee on State Security, Comrade Yu.V.Andropov. Dated November 11, 1980, Moscow.

Highly Respected Yuriy Vladimirovich:

"I am, along with many other scientists, greatly concerned about the condition and lot of our major scientists physicists A.D.Sakharov and Yu.F.Orlov. The existing situation is easy to describe. The scientific work of Sakharov and Orlov is highly useful, whereas their activities as dissidents are viewed as very harmful. Currently, they have been put into a situation whereby they are unable to engage in any kind of activity... Given that we are engaged in building a new social system, I think it would be right to refer to the opinion of Lenin: it would be the most universal one, since Lenin was not only a major thinker and social scientist but also a great politician. His attitude to scientists in similar situations is well-known. It was most clearly and fully shown in his attitude to I.P.Pavlov.

"After the revolution, Pavlov's dissidence was a well-known fact both in this country and abroad. His showed his dislike of socialism in a highly provocative manner. Shamelessly and mincing no words, he criticized and even cursed the government, crossed himself before every church, wore his czarist medals about which he could not care less before the revolution, etc. Lenin simply ignored these manifestations of his dissident views. For Lenin, Pavlov was a great scientist and Lenin did everything possible to provide good conditions for his scientific research...

"It is a well-known fact that governments have applied pressure on dissident scientists since the time of antiquity and even in recent times it has occurred in the West. For instance, noted philosopher and mathematician Bertrand Russell was jailed twice for his dissident views, albeit for a very short time. But when they realized that it only outrages the intellectuals while in no way affecting Russell's behavior, the British rejected this method of persuasion.

"I can not imagine how we intend to influence our dissident scientists. If we intend to increasingly resort to force, our prospects far from happy.

"Would it not be better to simply backtrack?

"Respectfully, P.L.Kapitsa"

A year later, when Sakharov and his wife staged a hunger strike, Pyotr Leonidovich Kapitsa sent a telegram to Brezhnev: "I am a very old man. Life has taught me that people never forget acts of kindness. Sakharov may have a rotten personality, but he is a great scientist. Save him."

"Open Letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L.I.Brezhnev; copies to the Secretary General of the United Nations and to the Heads of States of the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council.

"I am writing to you about a question of extreme importance: about Afghanistan. As a citizen of the USSR and by virtue of my position in the world, I feel responsible for the tragic events that are taking place...

"Military actions in Afghanistan have been going on for 7 months. Thousands of Soviets have been killed or maimed, as have been tens of thousands of Afghans—and not just guerillas, but mainly civilian population, including women, children, peasants and city residents. Over 1 million Afghans have become refugees...

"In the USSR, the economically crippling supermilitarization of the nation has accelerated (it is especially harmful during economic difficulties), vitally needed reforms in the economy and social areas are neglected and the dangerous role of the organs of repression has increased, so that they may get out of control.

"I will not analyze the causes of the Soviet troops' involvement in Afghanistan in this letter, be it caused by legitimate defense concerns or are part of some other plan, be it a show of disinterested support to assist land reform or interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation. Each one of these suggestions probably contains some truth... In my opinion, a political solution is necessary...

"I also feel that I must appeal to you on another pressing subject for this country. In its 63 years, the USSR has never had a political amnesty. We must free prisoners of conscience convicted and jailed for their beliefs and nonviolent actions... This humane act on the part of the Soviet government would bolster respect for this country, normalize the situation, promote international trust and restore happiness to many deprived families..."

Signed: Academician A.Sakharov, 1980

On May 21, 1981, Andrey Dmitriyevich turned 60 years old.

"Dear Andrey Dmitriyevich: Your 60th birthday has been dimmed by the harsh fate of your friends, your illegal banishment and the permanence of the sentries at your door. You have been stripped of state awards and deprived of professional and human contact; the essence of your life has been taken away from you: your diaries and the record of your past and future, i.e., your scientific projects. No one, however, can take away the complete righteousness of our cause and our non-governmental love for you. The Twenty First of May is like the feast of the soul: the feast of reason, the good and spiritual greatness. By your daily heroism, Russia has once again shown the world its hidden strength. Leo Tolstoy once said that spiritual force can be suppressed only as long as it 'has not reached its highest stage, at which point it becomes stronger than anything.' The spiritual power that you exude is growing and it can not be confiscated with your papers. Your word awakens

people for good deeds. Your thought disturbs and troubles people's hearts, takes possession of thousands of people, both free and behind bars, and impels from one stage of consciousness to the next. On the bright day of your 60th birthday I want to wish you that moral power overcame rude violence, that your treasures that were taken away from you were restored to you and that you and all those who have been wrongfully persecuted returned home."

Signed: Lidiya Chukovskaya, 1981

No, they could not keep the exiled academician isolated from the world in Gorkiy. The greeting of writer Lidiya Korneyevna Chukovskaya was not the only one he received. Many people sent him their greetings, including artist Boris Birger, who at the height of the persecution campaign against the academician had painted a wonderful portrait of Andrey Dmitriyevich and his wife who later, Gorkiy, was at her husband's side and, fighting for his rights, joined him in the hunger strike.

Sakharov's coworkers at the Physics Institute's theory department did not let him be fired and fought for the right to visit him in Gorkiy—and won. One of the first to pay him a visit was the head of the theory department Academician Vitaliy Lazarevich Ginzburg. Contrary to the assertions of the Soviet press and even the Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary, Sakharov did not "abandon his scientific research" but was especially productive during that time and the results of his scientific research have been partially published by the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Recently I have talked to one of Andrey Dmitriyevich's colleagues at the Physics Institute's theory department, Correspondent Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ye.S.Fradkin.

"Andrey Dmitriyevich, just like pure gold, has been tested by glory, humiliation, hunger and other most horrible human trials but preserved his personality. He has not become embittered. He does not even resent those who signed those angry letters against him in newspapers and magazines. 'They probably did not do that on their own accord,' he says.

"He loves people and tries to help them; he thinks about the future of our Motherland and science, and about truth. Everything is so natural to him. Back in 1969, he gave all his savings, which amounted to R139,000, I think, to the Red Cross and for the construction of an mycology center in Moscow.

"I visited him many times in Gorkiy. At the time, I was the party secretary of the department and we tried to do everything we could to help Andrey Dmitriyevich. It was impossible to understand how at a time when intensive development of the very essence of natural sciences—the

unified force theory—is underway, such an exceptional scientist could be kept in isolation. Who knows how many scientific discoveries our country has missed because of this?

"I remember I once came to Gorkiy right after his hunger strike. (Andrey Dmitriyevich fought against injustice by every means available to him.) He had just come out of the hospital. He was emaciated and depressed. He told me how they were threatening him.

"What could I tell him then? I was trying to persuade him not to stage hunger strikes, for the most important thing for him was to survive, to save himself for science and for life. He was 60 years old by then."

Andrey Dmitriyevich recalled how on December 15, 1986, in Gorkiy, a telephone was installed in his apartment and he was told to wait for a telephone call. At 3 o'clock came a call from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. "He told me that a decision had been made to allow me and my wife to return to Moscow. I thanked him and expressed my wish to the Secretary General that all other prisoners of conscience were freed in the same manner. Personally, we met last January, during the Moscow forum, when Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with cultural leaders."

We could have ended it here: justice has triumphed. Yet, A.D.Sakharov was nominated not by the USSR Academy of Sciences but by a national territorial district, by the very people for whose rights and interests he has always fought.

A.D.Sakharov: "I am not a professional politician. Maybe this is why I always have to struggle with the question of usefulness and end result of my actions. I am inclined to think that only moral standards coupled with unprejudiced thinking can be a guide in these difficult matters. I refrain from predicting anything concrete, but today, as always, I believe in the power of human reason and spirit.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Ogonek", 1989

#### **Woman Sentenced for Knowingly Exposing Others to AIDS**

18000554a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
8 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by S. Tarnavskaya: "AIDS On the Dock"]

[Text] This is the first legal examination in our country resulting in a guilty verdict for violating the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On Preventive Measures for Infection by the AIDS Virus." The defendant has two small children, a mother in Kakhovka, a former husband in the Congo, and...four years of confinement ahead of her

In the beginning, Olga's life was ordinary—school, technical college, marriage. The latter ended in a scandal. From one of her foreign acquaintances, the young woman caught syphilis, and her husband was taken ill. The family broke up. A different woman might have been frightened by all this, but Olga soon got over it. Admirers again appeared, and it seemed an extraordinary life was ahead of her. Especially when she met a young Congolese, who was studying at the Novokakhovsk Technical School of Hydraulic Engineering, Land Improvement, and Electrification of Agriculture. Their fascination with one another proved to be so serious that they decided to get married. After having lived more than a year in Kakhovka, the couple departed for the Congo.

But Olga didn't stay there very long—she returned with two small children, one of whom was a little more than a year old, and the other seven months old. And although she had a profession, she did not begin to make arrangements to work.

One summer evening she accompanied her friends to a restaurant. The evening almost ended tragically—Olga fell off the balcony. In the traumatology department of the Kakhovka regional hospital, where the victim was taken, the blood test alarmed the doctors.

The blood test was repeated, verified first in Kherson, then at the Second Clinical Isolation Hospital in Moscow. The fears were confirmed: Olga is a carrier of the AIDS virus. In ordinary life, such persons do not represent a danger to those around them, as the infection is not transmitted via air-borne droplets. But blood transfusions, skin grafts, and sexual contacts for an infected person are not permitted, as there is a very great probability of infection for the other person. The doctors warned Olga about this. She signed in the history of illness that she knows the consequences of violating the conditions put before her.

She returned home and on the next occasion, having adjusted to the scare, she abandoned all preventive measures. Again there were friends and meetings.

The investigation succeeded in establishing four of her "friends." Two of them gave testimony in court, the other two, a sailor from Murmansk, who was spending his leave in Kakhovka, and a 17-year-old boy, did not come to the trial, citing "valid reasons." These two are known, but just try to clear up the whole truth, if Olga tried to deny even these connections.

Thus, in this way, the disease which we were in the habit of thinking existed elsewhere, at the other end of the world, came into a small town, having affected not only the "risk group," to which Olga belonged, but also lovers of pleasure elsewhere. And not only them. Of what, we say, is Olga's future baby guilty, the baby she is now expecting? And when he appears in the world with the AIDS virus, he will be doomed.

It is, of course, naive to believe that under fear of infection all will become Puritans, and infidelity will sink into oblivion. In this circumstance, the men knew that all was not well with their friend, but they weren't put off.

They say they didn't know the consequences. It is quite possible. In wide circles of the population, especially in rural areas, the consequences of infection by the AIDS virus and discussion of preventive measures are presented very vaguely. You can count on the fingers of one hand the number of lectures read on this subject in labor collectives and schools.

And there is another problem, about which a considerable amount is written today, but over which much foot dragging continues. Prophylactics (we ask the pardon of bashful readers), which are the only means of defense against the disease, although they too are not 100 per cent effective, are among the most scarce goods.

"Deciding the question of measures of punishment according to given criminal affairs, the court proceeded from the fact that Olga L. did not admit to herself her guilt as a carrier of the AIDS virus. She maintained that the changes in her blood were the result of having had malaria. Forensic medicine expertise refuted this," recounted Judge V. V. Zakharova of the Kakhovka City Peoples Court, under whose chairmanship these unusual legal proceedings passed. "Up to this time she regards herself as healthy. If so, other victims cannot be excluded."

Olga was taken into custody in the courtroom. The sentence is four years deprivation of freedom in a correctional labor colony of common condition. The board on criminal matters of the regional court, where the accused addressed an appeal, left it without changes.

Most likely someone will think that it would not be worthwhile to bring out all this filth. But you must agree that this ought to be a lesson not only for Olga but for her "friends" as well.

#### **AzSSR Crime Figures Published**

18000903 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
25 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by A. Eberlin, under rubric "Information from AzSSR MVD": "There Will Be No Secrets"]

[Text] As is already known from reports in the press, USSR MVD has removed the classification of Secret from statistical data concerning the state of crime in the country, and that data was recently published in the newspapers, and, in particular, in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY. Now this has also been done by AzSSR MVD. At the ministry's press center I was acquainted with figures which up until today had been kept in the strictest secrecy. We shall give some of those figures in the form of a table.

	1987	1988	Growth rates
Total crimes committed:	13,985	14,006	+0.2%
Serious types:	2,159	2,301	+6.6%
—in cities	8,964	10,336	+15.3%
—while intoxicated	785	888	+13.1%
—by minors	423	402	-4.9%
—thefts of citizens' private property	216	436	+201.8%
Traffic and transportation accidents	2,876	3,174	+110.3%
Persons killed	963	1082	+11 %
Persons injured	3,055	3,672	+16.8%

Our correspondent ask Major-General of Militia V. P. Barannikov, AzSSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, to comment on these figures.

The very fact that newspapers are publishing information that for more than 50 years was considered to be especially secret, Viktor Pavlovich said, attests to those fundamental changes that are occurring in the internal affairs agencies. The fight against crime is a task for society as a whole, and it is impossible to achieve any success in it by concealing from the nation the truth about the true state of affairs. But the objective information does not give us any cause for complacency: crime is growing.

True, it is also necessary to say something else here. To a definite degree the curve has risen not only because of the increase in criminal manifestations, but also because at the present time all the crimes that have been committed are recorded precisely. We keep a strict watch on this, and we mercilessly bring to responsibility those employees who conceal facts concerning crimes, because we may as well admit that during the period of stagnation the roots of figure-padding also extended to the militia: its work was judged not on the basis of specific cases, but on the basis of impressive figures.

But if you think about it, this is not the crux of the matter. The reasons for crime must be sought in the complicated interaction of all processes occurring in society. The increase in crime is a global phenomenon of the same kind as, for example, today's threat to the environment.

Naturally, the intensification of the work performed by the militia has also had an effect upon the statistical data. For example, we have begun fighting hooliganism more aggressively, and immediately there has been almost a doubling in the number of persons detained. We began the attack on bribe-takers, and the statistics also reacted to that. Whereas in 1987 we had 46 cases in which bribery was revealed, in 1988 the number of such cases grew to 51, and during the first two months of 1989 we have revealed 20 instances of bribery.

However, we by no means have the right to underevaluate the dangerous tendencies in the development of crime, especially its serious types, which are directed against the individual, the theft of personal property, primarily from apartments, and hijacking of motor transportation. But let us see who, for the most part, engages in these crimes. Persons who do not work anywhere, persons who are intoxicated, minors, and persons who have returned from places of incarceration and also do not have any jobs. People in the last-mentioned category used to given jobs with much fanfare, but now, when the enterprises have changed over to the new economic methods, it is generally impossible for such people to find jobs, and frequently they have just one path—to commit a new crime and go back to jail.

Everything is of concern to the militia, but most of all the noticeable reduction in the age of the criminals, that is, the commission of crimes by persons up to the age of 29 years. And very frequently they come into conflict with the law as a result of having nothing to do, having nothing to occupy their time with. Even in such cities as Baku, Kirovabad, and Sumgait there is an acute shortage of the simplest sports facilities or young people's clubs.

We have not yet achieved a fundamental turning point in the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism. Over a prolonged period of time there has been a sharp limitation in the republic—and in Baku and a number of other cities, a complete ban—on the sale of alcoholic beverages. However, the number of crimes committed while under the influence of alcohol has grown.

Another alarming matter is the question of narcotics addiction. The militia has on file the names of 1,979 persons who use narcotics, of whom 563 are narcotics addicts, the overwhelming majority of whom are young people...

Of course it is impossible in a single article to encompass all the statistics and provide a complete analysis of the problems that stand behind the published figures. We intend to do this in other articles.

#### **BSSR Publishes 1988 Crime Figures**

18000772 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 4

["Distressing Statistics"]

[Text] Police Lieutenant Colonel S. I. Rukhlyadev, director of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs' Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, has summed up the results of the work of the republic's service for combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation in 1988.

More than 30,000 mercenary crimes were recorded in the republic last year. They included 2,700 instances of concealed embezzlement of state and public property,

more than 1,000 instances of speculation, and more than 200 instances of bribetaking. Cash and valuables that were confiscated from criminals and property that was inventoried amounted to nearly 4 million rubles. The confiscation of more than 44 kilograms of gold, silver, and other precious metals was recorded.

A stop was put to the unlawful activities of a number of dangerous groups of embezzlers at the Minsk Computer Equipment Production Association, the Chemical Fiber Production Association in the cities of Mogilev and Svetlogorsk, and the Bobruysk Tire Production Association, as well as of bribetakers at the Minsk Pedagogical Institute.

More than 64,000 mercenary administrative offenses were exposed. Objects and valuables worth more than 300,000 rubles were confiscated from citizens who were called to account, and 1.2 million rubles in fines were collected. An analysis of the data of the BSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs shows that the overwhelming majority of all abuses occur in the agro-industrial complex. More than 45% of all crimes recorded by the service for combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation are uncovered at the complex's enterprises and organizations each year. Losses stemming from shortfalls, waste, theft, and spoilage of goods and material valuables in this sphere are in the millions.

The situation in trade services is also cause for serious concern. Conditions that promote mismanagement and shortages persist in the state trade sector.

The crime rate is not declining in organizations and at enterprises of the Belorussian Cooperatives Union. Nearly 1,500 economic crimes and instances of official malfeasance were uncovered in those locations last year. Total losses amounted to more than 700,000 rubles.

An unfavorable situation persists where the secure storage of spirits and wine and vodka products is concerned. Speculation in spirits is on the rise, and homebrewers have become more active. Last year, 423 instances of theft of spirits worth almost 100,000 rubles were uncovered in the republic. One hundred four instances of theft of sugar were recorded.

Six hundred twenty-three instances of criminally punishable speculation in alcoholic beverages were uncovered. Six hundred eighty-six citizens were called to administrative account for petty speculation in alcoholic products, and 1,113 for violating regulations governing the sale of wine and vodka products.

#### **Labor Colony Eschews Barbed Wire, Guard Towers**

18000646 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by S. Yestemesov: "The Destination of the Business Trip Was Suggested by a Reader. A "Free Zone" Awaited the Correspondent"]

[Text] So, I am going to parts that are not too distant. This statement is not far from the truth: a rather unusual

correctional labor institution is located a total of several hours driving time from Alma-Ata. Its official purpose is a colony for individuals who have committed crimes of negligence.

For me the word "zone" is associated first and foremost with barbed wire and guard towers around the entire perimeter. However, there are neither the traditional bars, nor barbed wire entanglements, nor watchful sentries there. Everything appears quite commonplace: a settlement like hundreds in the area, children hurrying to school, the customary line at the store—in short, everything is as it is at an ordinary state farm or collective farm. And only the barrier at the entrance to the village reminds one of the fact that this is a corrective labor institution.

Major Karim Kagekbayev, the assistant chief for production, related,—There used to be a state farm here, but then it accumulated millions in debts and fell into decay. Therefore, in July 1987, the farm was handed over to the jurisdiction of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs. It was at that time that the decision was made to create on the farm's base a colony for individuals, who have committed crimes of negligence. Currently convicts and civilian employees—mainly local residents, work with us. And although not much time has passed yet, definite progress has been made: last year we obtained 1200 tons of vegetables, melons and gourds, 300 tons of meat, and we almost completely supplied our whole herd of livestock with feeds.

It is no coincidence that I am talking about this institution's first successes (even if they are modest). The fact is, the sad experience of colonies with a more strict regimen of upkeep has long ago proven the ineffectiveness of forced labor based on fear. But here we have been able to interest people in finding effective incentives. What kind of incentives?

Saylyau Sarbasov, the assistant chief for operations answered a question with a question—What is the first thing a person, who ends up here, dreams about? Naturally, about how to gain one's freedom as soon as possible and return to a normal life. And we give him that opportunity. If a convict has conscientiously worked off half of the term fixed by the court and in doing this has not evaded serving time nor violated discipline, the institution's administration has the right to petition for the convict's conditional release. And even the very situation in the settlement differs sharply from that, which reigns in places of detention, and this also is of no small importance. Our wards live in dormitories and private apartments and many of them live with their families. The relatives and friends of the others can visit at any time and parcels and letters are received without restrictions. After receiving their wages, the convicts can eat in the dining hall or cook for themselves and they can also buy shoes and clothes for themselves in the local village general stores.

The relative freedom of movement, the opportunity to choose one's place of residence and line of work, the right to have visitors, the prospects for early release, and other less important privileges which the convicts enjoy should not overshadow the main fact—the colony remains a labor colony. The regimen there is tough—everything is scheduled from reveille to retreat.

It is naive to think that the residents of the colony are delighted with their "free" lifestyle. But it is also a sin to complain. Those prisoners, who spent weeks waiting for a court date or months in prison cells, often with repeat offenders, and who served part of their time in labor colonies with a common or strict regimen, understand this perfectly. The settlement protects the person, who has inadvertently stumbled, from the influence of the world of the real criminal. The settlement does not generate criminal activity.

Lieutenant Colonel Bazhenov, the institution's assistant chief for political education stated, "That is why it is necessary to include a provision in the draft of the Principles of Criminal Law, whereby, for example, it is not obligatory to immediately take a driver, who has been in an accident, into custody. One can be restrained by a signed statement not to leave a place. Sometimes a stay in a pre-trial holding cell causes a person such psychological trauma that he is not able to regain his senses for years to come."

Today a significant portion of convicts end up there immediately after their trial. This has an effect on the mental climate in the settlement. Although, extraordinary events sometimes occur there as well (last year an escape was made and several instances of evading serving one's time were noted), but, on the whole, in the administration's opinion the situation is better than in the "zone". The following facts were cited to me. In October of last year, one and a half thousand tons of onions were still left in the fields. And the weather forecasters announced the possibility of light frosts. During the night, all the bags of onions were taken in, whereas a significant portion of the harvest on a neighboring farm was lost. After the earthquake in Armenia, the whole colony voluntarily turned out for a "subbotnik" (a day of voluntary unpaid labor) and contributed two thousand rubles to the relief fund.

These facts are not so very important, but they speak for themselves. People are still human beings. And it is possible that these are the main fruits of the humanization, which has begun in the corrective labor institutions.

#### **Kazakh Crime Problems Aired**

18320401 Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in  
Kazakh 20 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by N. Muftakhov: "Crime Is Not Decreasing"]

[Text] Leaving aside what is going on in other regions of the republic, what do you and I know now, and what have we known in the past about what steps are being

taken against crime in Alma-Ata City, and how much crime there is in one day, in one month, in one year? Responsible persons answering our questions have led us to believe that crime, serious and dangerous crime in particular, is decreasing month by month, year by year. We are very dependent upon what these responsible persons have said. This is because the real state of affairs is kept very secret, and has been hidden. In saying this, I wish to raise no criticism of the justice system, or about the level of struggle against crime. The matter was discussed publicly in a briefing held in the Alma-Ata City Internal Affairs Administration.

To get some appreciation of how matters stand, let me offer a few statistics. Last year, compared to 1987, crime occurrences increased 28.9 percent. Within crime, housebreaking increased by 25.3 percent, robbery by 43.5 percent, theft of state property 69.2 percent, crimes against persons 27.3 percent. In comparison robbery of socialist property and highway incidents seen not to have increased at all. Crime for selfish purposes increased by a total of 2.7 percent, and highway incidents by only 12.6 percent. However, there is no reason to rejoice in this at all. This is because as our society has advanced, as our consciousness rises, violation of law and criminal activity is supposed to decrease. But while this is supposed to be the case, our hopes have been deluded.

Upon finding out these facts, doubtless a single thought arises in everyone's mind. This being the case, it is that, as changes and renewal takes place in our country, criminal elements have honed their methods and means in a kind of 'perestroyka,' or is it that we all, our honored, our police force cherished with open arms, and our other justice organizations, instead of preventing crime, are arriving after the crime has been committed? Journalists present at the briefing asked questions like these of the heads of the city Internal Affairs Administration, of important persons responsible for organizing the fight against crime.

—No, we cannot say that the policy are doing nothing—said B. Kisin, chief of the Political Division of the Internal Affairs Administration, Ye. Otegenov, chief of the Crime Investigations Administration, V. Poltavskiy, chief of the Division for Struggle Against Robbery of Socialist Property, and others, who took the floor one after the other.—The matter is connected with operating conditions which have become more complex, and economic difficulties which are affecting us all....

To prove their points, they offered several examples. Thus, the struggle against drinking and alcoholism has been taken in hand, and if one-sided, effort is being made. However, as a result drinking has not decreased, and in addition the number of those using narcotics has increased. Products to which access was once free have vanished from store shelves and an artificial shortage has appeared. All of this has increased the amount of crime for selfish purposes, housebreaking, robbery, murder

and assaults for purposes of robbery. Effective measures have been taken against these crimes. Thus, last year more than 35,000 persons were arrested for breaking laws in connection with the struggle against alcoholism. Almost 5,000 persons were thrown into jail for rowdiness. Some nearly 4,000 persons were made to pay the penalty for petty theft.

In fairness, workers of the city Internal Affairs Administration are doing quite a bit. It is not very easy to face criminals, to reveal the evil hardened criminal, the brazen greedy. Last year a number of dangerous criminals were arrested. However, it cannot be said that the police are working at the level of current needs, or are satisfying the people. This is not overstating things, this is the way things are today. At present the latest achievements of scientific and technological progress are in the hands of the police, there is also a structure for carrying out operational measures, and there is enough transportation equipment. What the police lack is the experience of members of the older generation who once worked for police organs, close cooperation with the masses, and firm connection to them. We did not see sector inspectors at the briefing. It is said that no one has seen them for years at a time. In response to this, police administration heads said "they are working with ex-cons, those given to drink, and persons inclined to crime. They have no time for anything else." Where were they during so many years when we were saying: "the power of the police, connected with the people," or "the police have established a close connection with the people and rely upon their active help in their work?"

To be sure, today's criminals cannot be compared with the rowdies, greedy ones, grafters and murderers of the past. Technical progress, to be sure, has exercised its own influence upon how they carry out their actions among us and their perfidious plans. Undoubtedly, police organs (we are not just talking about the Alma-Ata City Internal Affairs Administration) have not been able to develop their own purposeful and effective countermeasures as criminal elements have changed their devices and tactics. Lieutenant Colonel Ye. Otegenov was forced to confess at the briefing that: "It is almost four years since perestroika has been going on in our country. The police, however, have still not even begun with their perestroika."

In truth, one does not sense perestroika from the present actions of police officers who stand at the forefront in preserving law and order. If there is need for struggle against housebreakers, the police admonish householders "to lock your doors securely and install burglar alarms, in agreement with us." B. Belik, chief of the Extra-departmental Watch Division of the Alma-Ata City Internal Affairs Administration, receives three rubles a month from households where burglar alarms have been installed, but considers this too little. Residents of the city's "Aqsay" microrayon have organized a

collective watch with their own participation. To support this each family must pay one ruble a month. "Some do not pay their dues, which gets on our nerves," complained the division chief. However, while the masses, householders themselves, must get involved in the struggle against theft, must the form of this struggle be what has now been suggested by the police? It is no secret that there was housebreaking before, but the struggle against housebreakers was different. Is it not true that no money was collected, no burglar alarms were installed?

Lieutenant Colonel V. Poltavskiy feels that the increase in cases of robbery of socialist property is due to current economic difficulties, disappearance of certain goods needed by the people from store shelves, and the shift to cooperative life which has taken place. "We must test the degree to which industries producing material riches are able to protect their products and certify," he said. "There is a great deal of theft of products since things are for the present unavailable." "In spite of this, industries gone over to economic operations, using cost-cutting as an excuse, have withdrawn from our watch service," added B. Belik. To be sure, it is very necessary for us to look into possibilities for protecting products, and to undertake measures to guarantee this protection. But police workers know well enough that the reason industries and organizations withdraw from the extra-departmental watch is not just economic. The issue has something to do with the quality of the watch. The police receive hundreds of thousands of rubles from industry each year for its watch, but state property continues to dwindle. It was stated at the briefing that nearly 4,000 persons who stole 41,000 rubles last year have been apprehended. But how many have not been caught!

We once associated "police" and "protection." But we have not heard this in recent years. The reason, it would seem, is that the people are not satisfied with police work, and that the struggle against crime has become worse. K. Suleymenov, chief of the legal division of the Alma-Ata Oblast Party Committee, pointed out very properly at the briefing the reasons why the role of the police in fighting crime has declined. The main reason: the level of preventive work has declined. The educational role of the police among the broad masses has been given up, the police have become known only as the punisher, as the investigators of crime. Thus two-thirds of the crimes committed every year remain unsolved. The police have lots of staff members, but the results and effectiveness of their work is low. Since the struggle against crime has become ineffective, criminals have crept out of the woodwork. The sad thing is that the causes of crime are not being discovered, but by and large these causes must be sought in alcoholism. To be sure, last year, in comparison to 1987, 15 percent more alcoholic beverages were sold. However, this is two-times less than in 1983-84. However, it is well known that crime has increased since those years.

—We have made the mistake of continuing on as before—he said—routine is paramount in police work.

What is the reason for this. An answer seemed to be given at the briefing. The principal reason—the quality of police cadres is low. Most operational workers, and most of the investigations apparatus studied at the Kazakh State University or the Karaganda Advanced Police School. Their ability to look into circumstances, to investigate and carry out operational activities is inadequate. Moreover, most of those workers who have arrived with the recommendations of their work collectives require extremely long training. Due to deficiencies in choosing and training cadres there have been observed cases where some police workers have damaged the reputation of the police. Last year the city internal affairs administration, on its own, fired more than 100 workers for improper activities. However, such cases have been kept strictly secret to this day, and it seems that there is

a concerted effort to prevent discussion of the matter in an open public manner with the people, exchange views, take counsel and ask for help.

What do we say to all this? As the party has demanded, no matter how complicated the question, we must discuss it openly with the people, and thereby we must solve whatever difficult issues there are with the participation of the people. If we discuss openly the many deficiencies in protecting law and order, and in struggling against crime, and the improprieties and irresponsibilities of police work, the authority of the police will not be reduced. It will be strengthened. We must bring deficiencies out into the open under conditions of glasnost. We must examine these deficiencies, and we must correct them. When all of us have participated in this together, when they have become not external critics of the work of the police but concerned citizens and interested parties, only then will we be able to turn the Soviet police into a pure, reliable guardian of law and order.

**Reader Delivers Scathing Criticism of Soviet Iconography, Includes Lenin**

18000743 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 16 Feb 89 p 3

[Commentary by B.R. Magomedov under the rubric "Without Censorship"]

[Text] We have a new heading for "Argument." "Without Censorship"—it means we propose to publish your thoughts, opinions, and judgments freely, without concern for "allowed" and "prohibited." We expect that minor editorial corrections (spelling mistakes, commas—for the convenience of the other readers) won't be interpreted as political censorship. The Constitution defines the sphere of prohibited material: propagation of views promoting war or interethnic discord, propagation of pornography, etc. But sometimes you yourself are the most rigorous censor. Remember that too.

\*\*\*

I am giving my opinion about an article by Doctor of Sciences M. Golubovskiy in the 31 January issue. I am glad, of course, that you are for perestroyka and so on, however I must point out to you your cowardice and your groveling concerning Lenin. It reminds me of all the other articles by all the other "scholars" who, apparently in order to convince the party and the government and the mere mortals, as usual just shove quotations "from Lenin" in their speech or article or report every so often. Probably insuring themselves by that against criticism and the emergence of doubts in the reader. All right, so we, the average ones, can still believe that Lenin was this and that—an ideal, in short. But you know more, so why do you make a god out of Lenin too?

You can see it especially well in the Army. Stop into any Lenin room of any (!) military unit, and you will see a "sanctuary," in which it is dangerous to sit with a hat on. Plotting boards on the walls with a eulogy for the leader. "The colossal figure of V.I. Lenin" (Lenin's name mustn't be written in abbreviated form; we learned that as early as grade school). Every merit is ascribed to the leader alone. Detached quotations are given, which don't in any way give a complete representation of either the man himself or the point he was making. Are there no equal or greater talents today, especially among the intelligentsia, which tries to avoid authority?

What sort of ideal have they turned bread into—it's a foodstuff! They educate children about it. They shoot films about it, although there are all types of bread: black, stale, indigestible, and so on. There are all kinds of slogans: "Bread is precious." Imagine in Japan: "Rice is precious, don't squander it," "Rice—our wealth," "Respect rice"... Or "Carrots—our wealth." Or "Conserve suet." Of course when we have nothing to eat except bread, how can we conserve? "Did you sow it and plow it?" "Did you plant that little carrot, and breed it, and peel it?" "Did you irrigate the rice?"

The same thing with red material. "The color of the flag and the revolution, and you dry your hands with a red rag?" They say they used to send people to jail for that. They were proud of their wide red trousers. Military units disband at the loss of their flag. All right, we have the flag. But meanwhile they put a taboo on red material: don't wash the floor, don't wipe your hands, for a red handkerchief you can end up in the guardhouse or they'll exclude you from the Komsomol (at schools in the outlying districts).

And all that comes from a "proprietary" mediocrity of mind, probably. A variety of human stupidity.

And then concerning arms. In the rest of the world they have demonstrations against missiles, while here we put up monuments to them and sing songs to them; they say that they keep the peace (in any missile unit they're full to the brim with them). They glorify them in every way possible, although they're not going to spare the children and the old people either. "But they're Soviet missiles."

Concerning "there are all types of "Afghans" [quotation marks as received]. At last they have published an anxious little voice; thank you if only for that. Although it is so clear, because it's not the honor soldiers whom they take there. But if they showed people the cadres where the troops are—they are not just innocent children with devoted little eyes, there are all types of people...

About myself, if it is necessary: MAGOMEDOV, Bata-via Radzhabovich, private; I have been in the military a year and a half, and I was born in Dagestan, in the town of Izberbal'. The name is genuine; I don't believe I have anything to fear.

This is a terribly disturbing letter. The accursed decades of glossing things over have so perverted everything that, objecting to them, it's possible to be ignorant of Lenin, to throw out bread, and to spit on the flag. What will the professional ideologists answer to the outwardly simple letter of a soldier? What kind of answer will there be today for simple questions: whom, what, and, most importantly, why do we idolize today? Do we do it through inertia, without thought, or with a goal? Apparently, there is something here to be said too by our readers, who are distant from the formulation of ideological policy, but at whom above all it is directed. Write us. We are waiting.

**Membership, Role, Future of 'Informals' Examined**

18000638 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by N. Rubanova: "Who Are You, Familiar Strangers?"]

[Text] "Where on earth do they come from?" There are many such questions in the editorial mail. The questions are sincere, but there is a feeling that they really concern

something that fell from the Moon on us. But in point of fact? Who are they, so familiar and, at the same time, unrecognizable lads nicknamed by the unfriendly word "informals"?

Candidate of Historical Sciences N. Rubanova, senior scientific associate at the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School under the Central Committee of the Komsomol, is engaged in the study of so-called "informal associations." We asked her to share the results and conclusions of the conducted research.

I cannot agree with the view widespread among the public that "informals" are a new phenomenon in our life. Spontaneously arising "informal groups," which are designed for meeting various personal or public interests and attaining specific goals, have existed for a very long time.

In the last 5 to 7 years they have been growing especially rapidly, like mushrooms after rain. For example, during the last five-year plan the number of amateur associations based at state and trade-union palaces and houses of culture increased 1.5-fold and the number of participants, from 2.5 to 6.5 million. During the same period the number of all "informal groups and associations" increased several fold, uniting tens of millions of people. Such groups and associations began to grow at even more rapid rates after the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th party congress, which determined the policy of democratization of our life and of a significant expansion of the opportunities for the manifestation of initiative, spontaneous action, and creativity.

The rapid growth of spontaneously formed amateur, primarily youth, associations, the magnitude of the informal movement, the unusually wide spectrum of its interests, and the poor study of this phenomenon have led to incorrect evaluations and conclusions, which are often expressed orally and in print.

It is illegitimate to define the movement of "informals" as a youth movement. People of all ages—one can say, from the age of 12 to very old ages—participate in it. However, young people (under the age of 30) constitute the majority, especially in groups and associations of an entertainment-consumer orientation, for example, such as musical and sports ones.

The Department for Ideological and Political Youth Education of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School under the Central Committee of the Komsomol conducted a sociological study in the country's five large cities—Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, Stavropol, and Rostov-on-Don. More than 1,500 schoolchildren, pupils at vocational and technical schools, students, workers, and engineering-technical personnel aged 17 to 30 were questioned. Two-thirds of them turned out to be members of "informal associations." About 80 percent of the questioned "informals" were Komsomol members and over 5 percent, party and candidate members. One out of

the four questioned individuals had parents who were workers, about 70 percent grew up and lived in families where there were both parents, brothers, and sisters, and only 6 percent answered that they had no relationships with parents, or that these relationships were strained. A total of 18 percent of the "informals," in their opinion, participated in perestroika. More than 46 percent wanted to participate.

As you see, these data refute the prevalent opinion that, allegedly, almost all "informals" are parasites or children from unhappy families. As it turned out, only 15 percent of the young people questioned by us were satisfied with the work of the Komsomol, clubs, circles, and sections existing at palaces of culture, educational institutions, and places of residence. Among the main reasons for their dissatisfaction they mentioned the following: insufficient attention on the part of public organizations, formalism in the approach to work, an imperfect program of activities, and a poor material and technical base.

Answering the question "what attracts you the most in 'informal associations?'" boys and girls, for example, stressed primarily the following: the opportunity to satisfy their interest in the sphere of leisure, to associate with interesting people, to develop their abilities, to engage in creative work, to overcome loneliness, and to make themselves known and the democratic nature of mutual relations. The opportunity "to have a good time" was attractive only to a little more than 2 percent of those questioned.

To the question "why do you prefer to engage in your diversions in amateur associations?" one-fifth of the young people questioned by us answered that "such associations do not exist at official institutions and organizations," one-fourth, "such associations exist, but their activity is not interesting," and about 7 percent, "our diversions are not approved by the public."

To the question "how do you evaluate the work of the Komsomol organization in your rayon on expanding opportunities for meeting the socially useful interests of young people in the leisure sphere?" only 7 percent of those questioned answered "good," 23 percent, "satisfactory," and 26, "bad." More than 38 percent of those questioned believe that in the last 2 years the conditions for amateur creative activities have remained unchanged and 17 percent are confident that they have even deteriorated.

The results of answers to the following questions attest to the interaction of amateur youth collectives with the Komsomol: "Did your group have to ask Komsomol organizations for help?" and "did you receive the necessary help?" About 23 percent of those questioned answered the first question positively and about 13, the second.

The fact that more than 44 percent of those questioned are not familiar with the statute on an amateur association and an interest club also attests to the poor work of the Komsomol with amateur groups.

"Informal associations" are quite stable. They operate for 2 or 3 years and longer. Groups, which unite in their mass workers and engineering and technical personnel, are the most stable. It is characteristic that almost one-half of such groups consist of people aged 24 to 30 and include more than one-third of party members and one-fourth of Komsomol members.

And now permit me to make several forecasts. Obviously, in the next 5 to 10 years the number of amateur collectives will not only increase sharply, but the spectrum of directions in their activities and diversions will expand even more. The number of groups engaged in socially useful activities will increase. The number of associations, whose activity does not coincide with the interests of the collective and society, will be reduced. The eradication of negative phenomena in society, establishment of social justice, and extensive democratization in all spheres of life will contribute to this. The structure of interests of amateur group members will also change. They will be engaged in technical creative work, in the restoration of historical and cultural monuments, in the protection of nature, in the development of national customs and traditions, and in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory, philosophy, and political economy and the politization of associations will intensify.

These changes in the amateur movement will also require a great deal of attention to it on the part of state bodies and public organizations. However, this will be tomorrow, but what should be done today?

Most associations are ready to cooperate with state and public institutions, in particular, to take part in the creation of better conditions for the organization of leisure time. Obviously, this should be utilized as widely as possible. The problem of premises for activities and work, which is one of the paramount problems for amateur groups and associations, should be solved as quickly as possible. This should be done not through the allocation of basements. Useful activities should be carried out on bright, beautiful premises at those numerous palaces and houses of culture, clubs, sports halls, and so forth, many of which are still used ineptly. For example, in Moscow a considerable number of clubs and palaces of culture are used during a little more than 50 percent of the normative time, their occupancy ranging from 30 to 70 percent.

We will achieve nothing merely with angry exclamations directed at those musical "fanatics"—"metallists." Help in cultivating esthetic taste in most of them is truly needed here. It is especially necessary to do this, because the need for contact with music occupies the first place in the structure of young people's diversions, including in Moscow.

Informal groups, associations, and clubs of a sociopolitical orientation, which have become widespread in different cities and, especially, in Moscow, deserve the closest attention on the part of public organizations. These political clubs set for themselves the goal of studying and discussing problems of history and politics and works by classics of Marxism-Leninism and by figures engaged in the revolutionary-liberation movement.

Taking into account that amateur political clubs have many young people, who cannot always independently understand complex economic, philosophical, political, and social problems and draw correct conclusions, it is necessary to search for forms of interaction and work with them. In our opinion, discussion seminars by leaders and members of formal and informal political clubs, which the House of Political Education of the Moscow City Committee and the Moscow Committee of the CPSU conducts, can be one of such forms. One of such seminars with scientists' participation on the subject "the New Face of Socialism: What Will It Be in the 21st Century?" was held in December of last year.

The problem of legal support for the informal movement is especially urgent today. An appropriate legal statute, a law, which would finally define the rights and duties of amateur associations, is needed. The law will also promote a greater development of all the positive in the informal movement and will provide significant help to the public in the fight against negative tendencies.

#### **Support, Criticism Voiced on BSSR Informal Groups**

18000715 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 17 Feb 89 p 4

[Letters to the editor: "At the Crossroads of Opinion"]

[Text] It seems to us that social-political situation which is not entirely healthy has arisen recently in our republic as a result of the "activities" of informal groups such as "Talaka," "Tuteyshyya," "Contemporary," and others.

We veterans hoped that these groups would render practical help to the party, trade union and komsomol groups in carrying out the tasks of restructuring. But our hopes have not come true.... We hope that decisive measures will be taken towards those "leaders" and "idea mongers" who bring the matter to confrontation with the progressive forces of the republic. Signed: B. Getts, Hero of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Council of Veterans of War and Labor of the city of Borisov, and others: 145 signatures.

I will not list all the negative aspects of the so-called "informal movement." Indeed, because of their age, young people tend to go to extremes. But can this serve as a basis for the wholesale censuring of an entire movement or, all the more, for the prohibition of similar groups? But such opinions are already being voiced.

I observe that among the "informal groups" there is a considerable number of people who display positive features. We should not be surprised at this, you know, as the majority of young people, the most active part of our society, our future, is in this movement. Is it so simple to run down this movement and brush it off? Of course, to do this is considerably easier than to direct the movement along the correct channel, to help it get rid of everything alien and out of character with the spirit and goals of socialist society, and to link the full measure of young people's energy to the benefit of restructuring. Signed A. Kuzmich, member of the CPSU since 1931, veteran of war and labor, Minsk.

The last months of 1988 were, in my view, marked by an organized assault (inspired and directed by someone) on the positions of the republic party organization and its leadership.

As an old communist, a veteran of war and labor, I want to state frankly my opinion concerning the events which took place on 30 October. The law was consciously and purposefully violated after an official ban. Let's assume that the ispolkom of the Minsk City Soviet was wrong in its ban. It should have been criticized and the punishment of the guilty demanded. But it is impossible to organize the masses in violation of the law, to agitate, to provoke them to drive people to confrontation, the majority of whom, in my view, absolutely do not know what is wrong and where they are pushing them. Signed A. Tolkachev, Grodno.

Reading numerous publications, I have come to the following conclusion. The high level of political activity of the people, especially young people, brought about by restructuring, demands leaving not only through existing public organizations, but also other forms, born in the course of the democratization of our society. This is a normal occurrence and there is no reason to hinder it. GUEB THE PROGRAMS ARE THE SAME, the most diverse forms, methods, and actions, for the attainment, laws are permissible. There cannot be uniformity, fixed and set forms of social life. I emphasize especially for young people, but not only for them.

The force of public work is expanding and being set up all over the country. We can only welcome this awakened political self-consciousness of the people. In this light, the revival of an inner life of full value is vital - the number one problem and essential need of restructuring itself.

There is in this revival is the guarantee of emancipation from falsification dogma and the stratification of the period of the cult of personality and stagnation. Signed V. Kuznetsov, veteran of the Great Patriotic War, Baranovichi.

From the editor: Many similar letters are being received by "Sovetskaya Belorussia." An outburst of reader activity is natural. It reflects the process of democratization of

the life of our society. In a superficial shallow view, it is difficult to sort out the flood of opinions and points of view. But we must sort them out - concretely, precisely, and in a well-grounded fashion.

Concerning the independent associations, for example, their actions should be examined from the point of view of conformity with the goals of the revolutionary renewal of society, taking into account the practical participation of members of the organizations in social-economic, political, and ideological spheres. It is necessary to show active support by those independent public organizations which promote the restructuring of democracy in Soviet society by concrete acts in every possible way.

At the same time, as the newspaper "Pravda" wrote recently, "What can be the compromise, we will say, with the leaders of those organizations who are using as a cover, and who are trying to nudge people onto the path of unlawfulness, anarchy, destabilization of conditions, and kindling interethnic dissensions? It is also clear that it is necessary to foster in the working people an elevated political culture and the ability to live and work in the conditions of democracy, which is compatible with neither irresponsibility nor dissipation.

"From here there flows a simple truth: the party committees will have to change by radical ways and methods of work on the masses, according to place of residence.

"They are called upon to ensure an initiative approach and offense in the raising and resolving of critical questions."

Democracy does not tolerate demagogy. It is necessary for each of us to take up a principle ideological position, not to dash from side to side, to conduct constructive criticism of shortcomings. The success of restructuring guarantees the political maturity and responsibility of the Soviet people, their understanding of current and long-term tasks, and the ability to secure by painstaking work daily progress along the path of social-economic renewal of the country without idle talk.

#### **Belorussian Journalist Blasted, Defended for 'Nationalistic' Opinions**

18000902 Minsk ZNAMYA YUNOSTI in Russian  
15 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Galina Ayzenshtadt, ZNAMYA YUNOSTI commentator, under rubric "Dialogue With the Reader": "Intolerance Of Another Person's Opinion Is Not the Best 'Argument' in a Dispute. Especially in Matters of National Culture"]

[Text] Minsk resident Mariya Aleksandrova sent me a postcard. On it she reports that she is not opposed to the Belorussian language or Belorussian culture, "but forcing the Belorussian language on people of another nationality on your part is immoral. From your articles it is obvious that you are a fervent nationalist, and by your

articles you are sowing national hatred among nations. If a person wants to, he will study Belorussian, but forcing him to do that... It smells of Stalinism."

Apparently it seemed to Mariya that she had expressed herself too briefly. Her postcard was soon followed by a long letter, with the notation on the envelope "Attention: Editor in Chief." In this letter the idea that she had expressed in the postcard received further development: "Again I want to return to the nationalistic articles written by Ayzenshtadt and her ilk... I would chase people like Ayzenshtadt out of the editorial office since they do not consolidate the nation. Rather, they divide it, they turn the nation into wild animals, concealing themselves at such time by high-sounding words and high-sounding matters..."

What was it that caused such rage in Mariya Aleksandrova, who, incidentally, did not give her own address? In my articles "Return to the Roots" and "All the Colors of the Rainbow" (ZNAMYA YUNOSTI, 18 January, 10 February 1989) I wrote that it is necessary to be interested in and to be respectful of the land in which you live, and you should study its language and culture. That would seem to be the most ordinary desire, that is completely remote from any extremism. But it proved to be sufficient for reproaching the author of engaging outright in "mortal sins."

Well, that is what the "terminology" of the accusations is like! It is as though we are back in the 1930's, when the fight against "nationalism" was at its peak. But Mariya is a young woman (and, in addition, as becomes obvious from her letter, she arrived in Belorussia comparatively recently). Yet her vocabulary differs very little from that which was used then. It is simply miraculous how firmly established the heritage of the past is proving to be.

As I read such "accusatory" letters (and also frequently listen to threatening telephone calls), I always think about one and the same thing. I would like, just for once, for this kind of accusatory author to imagine that those labels are being hung on himself. Of course there would be no limit to his indignation: by what right was that being done? And yet insulting a journalist is felt to be a completely reasonable thing to do. Apparently also because there has never been a precedent when any newspaper has taken a reader to court (although the opposite situation is not infrequent).

One is struck not only by the readers' intolerance, but also by the extreme demagogic dexterity with which they have learned to cover themselves by high-sounding words—the "nation," "internationalism," etc. Here I wanted, as usual, to write that they are not guilty of that, that they have indoctrinated to do this, that they have people from whom to take an example... But I immediately stopped myself. Excuse me for asking, but how long are we going to blame someone else for our own actions,

instead of taking a good look at ourselves? Why cannot an adult learn how to reflect on a fact or a phenomenon, or, on the contrary, why does he reject every attempt to reflect in this way?

"It would seem that 'true patriots,' and I would call them nationalists, are excessively demanding the resurrection of the native language... I feel that in Belorussia, especially in the cities, in view of the great similarity between the Russian and Belorussian languages, there has formed a type of language that was mentioned by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism in their works. And when we were taught in school, we were told about the fusion of languages and dialects," Minsk resident V. Klimenko writes.

But are we really to believe that today it is not obvious that, as we rush toward the fusion of nations and nationalities, we have, essentially speaking, rushed to level them all? It is not surprising that the national and interethnic problems and relations have become so acute today. Because it is not accidental that language is called the soul of a nation. And if the soul is "extracted," what will remain?

"Do you really mean that I cannot love my land if I speak Russian?" A. Kovalenko asked from Mozyr. "I am convinced that you and your intellectual comrades who are so zealously in favor of the Belorussian language prefer to send your children and grandchildren to English schools, at the expense of fools like us. Just tell me whether a seven-year-old child will really know how to spell the word correctly—is it 'tovary' or 'tavary'? There will be complete philistinism and illiteracy. So isn't it better to tell children to devote an extra hour to studying the history, culture, and literature of their own land, instead of crippling them by making them study two related languages?..."

Somehow it is awkward even to ask the question: why does teaching Belorussian to children mean that we are "crippling" them? After all, children assimilate and memorize everything very quickly. Of course, if they come to school with their parents' conviction that this is a burden for them, then there can be no thought of any kind of language study. And that is the situation that developed in previous years, when actually it was easier to learn English than Belorussian.

But the appeal "to devote an extra hour to studying the history, culture, and literature of their own land" will not yield very much if the person does not know his native language. Actually, isn't he a foreigner in his own republic?

"This is the opinion of all our workers," A. Kovalenko says at the end of her letter.

Involuntarily one notices a basic underlying law. A journalist usually expresses his or her own personal point of view. But the authors of "intolerant" letters most

often write in the name of—if not the entire nation—definitely the entire collective or, if worse comes to worst, all their friends and acquaintances. Perhaps it's because they do not have enough arguments, or they feel that those arguments are shaky, or perhaps it is more customary or more convenient to hide behind this generalized "everyone..."

And there is something else that is typical: those readers who have something to say write in their own name. Aleksandr Gromovich reports from Slutsk that he has been attentively reading articles about the problems of the Belorussian language not only in ZNAMYA YUNOSTI, but in other publications produced in our republic. And he is concerned that a lot of words have been written, but he cannot see any concrete actions.

"In our city, for example, only two signs in Belorussian have been posted—at shops..." Then he goes on to say, "It is very painful to read statements about the Belorussian language to the effect that we ought not to force our native language on anyone. Who gave them the right to answer for an entire nation? Personally, I too used to taken an indifferent attitude toward the Belorussian language, but we had that drilled into us in school. Even in the classroom, Belorussian language and culture were taught half-heartedly. But then I became interested in Belorussian and began truly to love it after I got out of school. Now I am quite fluent in Belorussian and Russian. I understand and read Polish, and I know a little English. I am especially interested in the history of Belorussia. There is one thing that surprises me: why is it that the history of BSSR is taught in the school formally, that is, just a couple of paragraphs, and even that is done cursorily. Because we do have a very rich and interesting history."

Stanislav Voytko, from Lida, feels that it is necessary "to discontinue the practice when certain parents angrily bar their children from studying Belorussian." He recommends introducing bilingualism in state institutions, and creating films in Belorussian.

Ye. Kozlovskaya, from the village of Benakon, Voronovskiy Rayon, emphasizing that Poles, Belorussians, and Russians live there and all of them communicate by using Belorussian, also asks the question of the further development and use of Belorussian. "The institutes and technicums should use Belorussian as the language of instruction."

V. Danilevich also writes bitterly from Minsk, "I was prompted to write this letter after reading Galina Ayzenstadt's articles 'Return to the Roots' and 'All the Colors of the Rainbow.' I am 17 years old. Until I was 16, I never asked myself, 'Why am I, a Belorussian in my own homeland, talking in Russian?' Why have we Belorussians begun to lose our native language and our culture? It is very painful for me to read the letters that were quoted in the article 'All the Colors of the Rainbow,' in which the 'Belorussian' authors write that they have all

become accustomed to the Russian language, so why 'break' the language... These are depersonalized people who don't really care where they live or how they talk, so long as their stomachs are full. Please excuse me for having expressed myself so sharply. I would like to express myself more mildly, but I cannot. My sense of national self-awareness has risen in me. I never used to have any particular interest in books in Belorussian. Maybe it is because the books in the school curriculum were just plain uninteresting. But I have read Korotkevich, Dayneko, Kozko, and Ryazanov, and I now realize what delicate aspects of human thoughts and experiences can be conveyed by the Belorussian language."

It may seem that, having begun quoting letters of a different kind, I am leading the discussion away from the topic that was stated in the article headline. But no, I am doing this for another reason. I want to convince the "intolerant" readers that it is by no means everyone who thinks the way they do. It is simply surprising that this does not come into their head. Even if the journalists stopped bringing up the critical problems of national language and culture, the readers would force them to do so. Now is not those times when many complicated and "undesirable" questions were driven down deep and left unresolved.

"By the will of fate I have already been living in Latvia for 25 years. I have my family, work, and friends here," Gennadiy Matveyuk, deputy chief of TETs-2 in Riga, writes. And he ends his letter in Belorussian, "A few days ago I attended a cultural evening that had been organized by the Belorussian Cultural Society in Riga. It was very pleasant to hear Belorussian being spoken, and to hear Belorussian poetry and songs... It is terrible when a nation forgets its language, because a person without language is a person without a future."

In my opinion, it is difficult to give the best answer to the "intolerant" authors. But, for the time being, there obviously are quite a few of these "intolerant people." Galina Plavskaya, a tenth-grade student from Grodno Oblast, writes painfully about how her friends laugh at her when she speaks Belorussian.

She writes [in Belorussian], "But I believe that our language will live and flourish. It will never perish or disappear from the earth without a trace..."

"We will all do our utmost to assure that our language will always live." Galina writes with conviction.

But will she convince her fellow-thinkers whose letters I have quoted here convince Mariya Aleksandrova and her fellow-thinkers?

I wanted to write, "the dialogue continues." But, unfortunately, it has stopped for the time being. Tomorrow new letters will arrive at the editorial office. And many of them will contain the same old labels of "nationalism."

When will we ever learn to talk to one another without insults?

**Estonian Intermovement Members Criticize Media Coverage, Language Law**  
18000726 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with members of EsSSR Intermovement's Coordinating Council Konstantin Kiknadze, senior inspector at the Tallinn office of State Foreign Insurance, and Anatoliy Yumalov, mechanized dockers' crew chief at the "Estrybprom" production association's Tallinn fishery port, by V. Ivanov: "Not to Let Opportunity Slide" under the "Republic-Wide Intermovement Congress Opens Today in Tallinn" heading; first paragraph is a boldface introduction]

[Text] Not to let opportunity slide; this short phrase may have many different shades of meaning, as the conversation with members of EsSSR Intermovement's Coordinating Council Konstantin Kiknadze, senior inspector at the Tallinn office of State Foreign Insurance, and Anatoliy Yumalov, mechanized dockers' crew chief at the "Estrybprom" production association's Tallinn fishery port, demonstrates.

[Ivanov] You are the ones who proposed a meeting this time. Is there a particular agenda or do you have other goals?

[Kiknadze] There is nothing especially urgent. We simply want to make Intermovement's contacts with the press and other mass media in the republic more regular and to work closely with you. After a period of estrangement, so to speak, it is time to begin constructive dialogue in a spirit of true socialist pluralism. The situation has until recently been such that many in the press corps shunned contact with us. I will name names, so that my complaints do not seem empty. Take for instance Estonian Television's Russian language editor Vladimir Velman. We have approached him several times with offers to participate in his Saturday shows. However, each time we were turned down on the pretext that the next show had already been scripted and Intermovement's presence was undesirable as it would interrupt its planned course and the calm tone of the discussion and could lead the script in a wrong direction.

[Ivanov] Your complaint may be correct in some ways, but unfortunately Velman has had a bad experience dealing with your members. On one of his shows, of which I also was a participant, an Intermovement member did not quite behave himself. Before going on the air, all of us who had been invited to the show agreed to take the opponent's point of view in order to understand the motives and the causes of his actions. Yet, when your fellow-Intermovement member Igor Konovalov's turn came, he quickly forgot all past agreements and began to list the program of Intermovement leadership. So Velman has good reason to fear that the script may be led in

a wrong direction. Please believe me, on a human level I understand that Konovalov may have reasoned that he could never get another such convenient opportunity and seized the moment to once again express his opinion. However, we had agreed that each of us would try to look at the situation from the other's point of view.

[Kiknadze] You have explained the situation very well. It is exactly the fact that our chance to speak in public is so rare that apparently drove Konovalov to reject the preliminary agreement.

A digression in the conversation. So, an Intermovement activist decided to seize the chance to speak out in more detail about the goals and aims of his movement. Let us leave aside ethical considerations concerning the previous agreement that he did not keep. Let us look at the practical aspect of the situation. The man thought that there might not be another such convenient opportunity and expressed his opinion. This way, he corroborated his opponents' view of himself as an unreliable partner in a dialogue. Thus, his hitherto hypothetical fear was realized, since after that show Intermovement indeed lost access to television for a long time, while prior to that incident it had been able to use it on two separate occasions.

But let us return to our conversation.

[Kiknadze] This is why we think that we should meet with members of the media as often as possible, to learn at last how to conduct a dialogue.

Now about some specific issues. The law on language has been passed in the republic. We feel that its passage is a point of controversy that makes the situation more tense, and in addition the law itself is essentially reactionary as far as socialist perestroika of our society is concerned. The first issue of Intermovement's information bulletin is out, where we once again stress that the language law was passed against the wishes of many Estonian residents whose opinion was completely disregarded. Consequently, we will continue to fight for that law to be changed.

Why do we think it reactionary? First of all, to take a broader view, the way toward a new formation in perestroika is to bring workers closer to the means of production. This is the aim of the law on state enterprise which establishes councils of labor collectives and thus effects public self-management and ownership of the means of production. Lease contract and the cooperative movement serve the same purpose. I would call the process of bringing workers closer to the means of production the main criterium of perestroika. By this standard, the law on cooperatives is progressive since it brings people closer to the means of production, while the language law is reactionary, since according to Article 12 of that law all official business must be conducted in Estonian and you know as well as I do that the majority of non-Estonians in the republic do not know

that language. This means that almost 400,000 people will not be able to become cooperative managers since managers must know the language in the first place. Thus, neither entrepreneurial qualities (and they are a talent) nor professional qualifications will be taken into account, but only the language. Meanwhile, it has been admitted that the republic has neither the funds nor other resources to teach the language at the statewide level to those who want to learn it.

[Ivanov] Yes, but certain steps are being taken. Our editorial office has set up Estonian courses, in part paid for by the publisher. As far as I know, similar courses—fully paid for by the enterprise—exist at the "Dvigatel" plant and at other organizations and offices. Those who really want to learn the language can find the possibility.

[Kiknadze] This is exactly what we had said: what we need is not a language law but concrete steps to teach Estonian to those who do not know it!

[Ivanov] Well, this point of view has the right to exist, even though it is probably true that the passage of the law has accelerated such steps. But in relation to what you have just mentioned I would like to ask you one question: so, you think that the language law causes alienation among workers from the means of production, is it not so?

[Kiknadze] As far as the cooperative movement is concerned, yes. And at enterprises, too, since it keeps qualified specialists who have all the necessary qualifications but do not speak Estonian from aspiring to managerial positions.

[Ivanov] Yet, the enterprise or the cooperative, if they have enough funds—and they usually do—could hire an interpreter.

[Kiknadze] It is not so easy given today's labor pool, and it means additional difficulties. To find a qualified interpreter... Let us look at it straight: will this new measure make access to the means of production easier or more difficult? It will make it more difficult. Hence, by our criterion it slows down socialist perestroika. On the other hand, the language law may be seen as a positive according to some other standards. Moreover, it should not be viewed in isolation from other tools that the Popular Front has adopted. Clearly, the Popular Front should be seen as something like a party of Estonian national regeneration and its aims are apparently to reestablish its nation state. This can be achieved by various means. Today they support perestroika and we march together. But at a certain point our paths may diverge. The passage of laws such as the one on language comes into conflict with society's forward motion toward socialist perestroika.

[Ivanov] One more question on the same subject. The draft of your General Declaration published in our newspaper on February 1 states that Intermovement

"acts independently, democratically and fully within the Constitution and the laws of the USSR and the Constitution and the laws of the EsSSR..." At the same time, you reject the language law passed by the supreme legislative body of the republic. Do you see the contradiction? And one more thing: you retain the right to criticize various documents, including laws passed by the republic's government; yet, since you have promised to act within them, what has Intermovement done to study the Estonian language?

[Kiknadze] First of all, many members of Intermovement's Coordinating Council are studying the language...

[Yumalov] We are not against the Estonian language as such, and not even as a state language. We do not oppose bilingualism.

[Kiknadze] We are only saying that at this point, when the majority of the Russian-speaking population do not know Estonian, we must not permit that they be put outside political life. Yet, the only way to include them into active social and political life is to use Russian on an equal footing with Estonian.

[Yumalov] The session of the EsSSR Supreme Soviet, besides passing the language law, also approved the declaration of sovereignty, which means that the EsSSR has become a sovereign state.

[Ivanov] It has always been one, according to the existing USSR Constitution.

[Yumalov] And so that sovereign state has passed the language law. This is discrimination, is it not? Finland, for instance, which has two linguistic groups—and there are immeasurably fewer Swedes in Finland than Russians in Estonia—has two state languages. Moreover, the six months spent debating drafts of the language law diverted the people's attention from the most urgent task, that of effecting perestroika in the economy and industry. We should be solving our economic problems!

A digression in the conversation. In my interlocutor's words I clearly heard the desire not to let opportunity slide while there is still time to get down to business and start improving the economic situation. I must admit that my own views are in full agreement with Yumalov's. And not only his. Indeed, sometimes we spent inexcusably and unreasonably much time and effort talking and much less doing business.

Yet, there are other aspects of the problem and other truths that in my opinion should not be ignored. Namely, if the other side—let us call them that for now—attaches so much importance to resolving the language problem on a priority basis, then there must be important reasons for it. They are not doing it just as a matter of principle, are they? Perhaps it would make

sense to try to understand their motives better and to analyze what drives them, instead of declaring it indirect proof of separatist tendencies.

[Kiknadze] To sum up briefly, we want to say the following. The language law puts people of different nationalities at a disadvantage, based on how well they know Estonian. But if individuals are not equal in something, then one of the basic principles of socialism is violated. For example, what do you think of the October 2, 1988, Popular Front resolution proposing to pay more to Estonians taking jobs in the Kokhtla-Yarve, Narva and Sillamye region than to Russian-speaking workers? In other words, they propose to pay more to Estonians for the same labor.

[Ivanov] I agree that on the surface this looks like discrimination. But I understand the reasons which prompted Popular Front management to make this proposal. The problem is that the number of Estonians living in that region is steadily declining. It is clearly an abnormal situation in a historic Estonian region. There is a need to encourage Estonians to move to those areas. Perhaps it should be done differently from the way proposed by the Popular Front: we should all think about it together, without taking offense or reproaching one another. In any case, as far as I know, no state documents sanctioning such extra pay have been adopted yet.

[Kiknadze] Moreover, Article 72 of the EsSSR Criminal Code is still in force: it decrees punishment for giving direct or indirect privileges to citizens based on their national origin or race.

Equality among working people is the cornerstone of socialist society. We must judge citizens by their labor, not their national origin.

[Ivanov] This is beyond doubt; so, I want to suggest the next question not as argument but as food for thought—and do not try to answer it right away: is it possible that a person who in addition to his native tongue (be it Russian or any other one) knows Estonian as well is able to make a greater labor contribution to perestroika?

But of course paying more money based on national origin alone is unacceptable.

In any case, you must agree that the Popular Front had the right to express its opinion, and you are expressing yours. The two opinions will probably help find a solution that is acceptable to all sides.

I want to use this opportunity to ask several very specific questions which are of interest to our readers. What about the organizational structure of Intermovement, for instance?

[Kiknadze] Some people wanted to set up Intermovement based on the principle of democratic centralism. However, the opinion prevailed to make the movement's

rayon councils its principal units, and they would be incorporated. This means that they would have their own bank accounts and other characteristics of legal entities. In the end, they would be partly independent of the central elected body. Our common ideas is what unites us, not formal structure.

[Yumalov] In other words, we were trying to avoid creating our own bureaucracy.

[Kiknadze] This structure is more difficult to manage, of course, but we opted for it to give our people a chance to learn a true lesson in democracy.

We can long discuss details, but I would like to return to the most important issue: we waste an inexcusable amount of time sorting things out among various movements and forget the main task, which is to combat the bureaucratic command management system. Be it a Russian bureaucrat or Estonian, in Moscow or in Tallinn, he remains equally bad. This is where we think joint efforts of all true perestroika supporters could be applied. There are other, more specific issues where we could cooperate. They include completion of October Prospect, a speedway from Lasnamye to the center of the city, which has been delayed beyond all measure. Could we jointly speed things up? I think so.

[Yumalov] We want to hold a meeting at Kalininskiy Rayon between residents and the block of deputies to discuss environmental issues and the housing crisis. Why could not the Popular Front join us in this undertaking? Shtromka has become a cesspool, people live in real slums there. This concerns everybody.

[Kiknadze] Our goal is to foster Estonian patriotism in people not as members of that nationality but as citizens who live in Estonia, as Estonian residents who hold the problems of this land dear to their hearts. We view Estonia as a sovereign state in a federation, i.e. the Soviet Union. We want people to understand that this is their motherland, if they were born here.

[Ivanov] And the last question, which will help avoid rumors since many people want to know but there is almost no information available: how does Evgeniy Kogan feel?

[Kiknadze] Physically, the recovery has been slow. The injury is very severe and complex, and he remains in the hospital. But he is optimistic and cheerful and unquestionably he is a man of great civic courage. He has been nominated candidate for the USSR people's deputy and a group of his assistants has been formed, which includes representatives of "Estrybprom", where Kogan is employed. We hope that he will be able to function as a deputy, if of course he is elected.

### Protests Over Raising of Estonian National Flag Rapped

18000728 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Ya. Tolstikov: "If Emotions Are To Be Calmed"]

[Text] Yes, emotions have been whipped up across the region. Just emotions. Indeed, in the middle of February, a month after the adoption of the Law on Language—the situation in the republic, so it seemed, had stabilized. The new legislative act so heatedly discussed not long ago, according to my observations, did not lead to the surge of emotions in and of itself. And what is more, we had become calmer.

Another event served as the cause for the aggravation—on the morning of 24 February, in place of the usual red cloth (the white and blue waves along the bottom of the flag are of no account and its basic color is still red), the workers of the main plant of the Elektrotehnika association saw on the Tall German (this tower, as is well known, is easily visible from the plant's property) the national tricolor rising on the flagpole. Yes, for several days prior to Independence Day, there was also an ukase of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and corresponding explanations in the press and the address by the republic's leadership to the inhabitants of Estonia. Yet, all the same, emotions burst out anew.

The subsequent events are well known—a workers' meeting that very same day at the plant and the threat of a strike. And here it is the 2d of March—an open party meeting of the communists of Elektrotehnika in the Officers' House, which gathered together around a thousand production workers (including more than 600 CPSU members) and literally after this, on the 4th and 5th of March—the Intermovement congress in the House of Political Education. And here and there, emotions, in my opinion, prevailed.

But we will try to examine calmly what is going on. We will begin with the fact that the Estonian SSR state flag was, and remains, the one approved 36 years ago. The examination of the question of the state symbols (including the flag) is still pending. Such is the impression, however, that some inhabitants did not understand this and, indeed, the republic's state flag continues to fly nearby—above the ESSR Council of Ministers' building.

Thus, perhaps, did emotions prevail again in actual fact because the

press and the other mass media did not tell enough and convincingly about the upcoming event—the lowering from the high point of the city tower of the red state cloth and the raising on that same flagpole on the next day of the national tricolor? Possibly.

It would not be worthwhile, probably, in the festive morning moment, to talk so emotionally and sharply about the red color as a symbol of "blood and vengeance" and it would not be worthwhile to publish in the newspaper EDAZI (and after this, in the Russian-language VPERED also) such a heart-rending topic, especially right on the eve of Independence Day. These items—in the press and at the meeting—very likely just poured fuel on the fire. But now, after a lapse of several days, can we, having gotten a stronger grip on ourselves, discuss calmly—how to get on with our lives? Did nothing tragic really happen? I believe, no, nothing happened. Many things have caused the mutual lack of understanding. More precisely—the unwillingness or inability to understand the other side.

Here is such an example. At both the association's main plant and the meeting in the Officers' House, they had occasion to hear the words: in Estonia there is an undermining going on of the foundations of socialism and the republic's leadership, so they say, is indulging this.

It is true that "undermining" is going on. But, really, is the aforesaid process springing up only in Estonia? And if there is an "undermining of socialism", then what kind is it? Perestroyka, which is being implemented throughout the country, and the entire essence of our revolutionary transformations, which began in the spring of 1985, have been directed against that social formation established by Stalin and his circle of cronies. Against the "socialism" which has been debased over the last 6 decades. What is going on is the process of the cleansing of socialism of the errors and stratifications of the past. Only in Estonia (just the same as in the two other Baltic republics), this struggle has been colored now with national tones. All of us would do well to remember recent history...

Only the decisions of the 11th, and later, the 13th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenums, for the first time over the decades, have reflected the Estonian people's aspirations. And now, together, having rolled up our sleeves, we would do well to tackle more energetically the solution of the problems placed before the country by perestroyka!

Sometimes, however, the impression is created that someone has taken a personal interest in the intensification of confrontation. The provocative rumor started at the plant on 24 February after the raising of the state flag above one of the shops, which had already been reported in the press. And these troublesome "we demand," "we demand"! To whom is this useful, whose purpose does it serve?

Foam inevitably arises on the wave of changes. People with an ambitious plan and large complaints about life, and there is something to them, these complaints, which have not been satisfied, and also without special abilities truly, for the benefit of the common cause, want to prove

themselves—such people frequently, at a critical moment, declare that they are here. If only to make some noise, to stir up those around them and then, having gone off to the sidelines, to look—what has happened? And it is not important that, as a result, the

energy of the masses has evaporated. In trying to assert himself, such a person is ready to "prove" himself in whatever and wherever it suits him.

Similar "activists" have been found at Elektrotehnika also. I observed some of them at the strike committee's meeting and they also turned out to be the loudest ones at the gathering. One categorically demanded that a guest invited by the collective to the Officers' House not be allowed to take the rostrum in any case—let him, if he wants, speak from the audience. Another, trying to shout down the audience, shouted into the microphone and insisted that all the strike committee's demands (precisely demands) be unconditionally written into the resolution of the open party meeting.

Yes, common sense and nobleness prevailed this time, but, God help us, as the saying goes, if the extremist elements ever get the upper hand in such so emotional surges. For every action, as is well known, there is always an equally strong reaction. What is next—fistfights? Indeed, this would be the ruin of much of what the country, and thus, also the republic, has been able to achieve over the 4 (incomplete) years of perestroika. Is all this really necessary to any of the honest workers?

Voices already well known to us are being heard anew: the Law on Language adopted in January infringes, so they say, on the interests of the Russian-speaking populace. Well, then, what now—do away with the law itself? Do we suspend its implementation or do we rescind it completely?

I think that it would be extremely unwise and precipitous to put forth such demands at this time. Any legislative act must inevitably stand the test of time. And, if some of its provisions turn out to be impractical, then they will immediately undergo changes, die off or be improved. But, it may also happen that many of our current fears with respect to the Law on Language will turn out to be exaggerated and mistaken. And we ourselves will own up to our own mistake. At the same time, let us think about the main thing. The Law on Language reflected the long-standing aspirations of the republic's Estonian population and its adoption was an enormous political and social event in the life of a small ethnic group of our multi-ethnic country.

Psychologists have noted that when a large group of people gets together, they frequently begin to curse the chief (if there are a lot of like-minded people around, it is not terrifying to do this), trying to portray different leaders as the "enemy." This is the one, he (finger upraised) is precisely the one guilty in all this—we ourselves had nothing to do with it. It is this one or those

people there, in the offices, who did not learn or who overlooked something, who went too far or overdid something. Such is the psychology of the little man, whom we are now trying to remove from ourselves in every way possible (at times, it is true, unsuccessfully).

The strike committee, as has already been reported in our newspaper, demanded the "removal from his position" of this person and that one. The same such declarations were heard at both the meeting in the Officers' House and the congress in the House of Political Education. Oh, how courageous we are, how full of principles! Democracy—to the utmost limit!

Well, but just ask a person how a leader named by him has "compromised" himself and you will hear nothing but generalizations in response. Emotions alone. This is not the first time over the last few months that we have encountered this phenomenon. Small placards at the meetings and demonstrations—"remove," "away with"... We have simply gone crazy from freedom and pluralism. And we have begun to forget a basic thing: democracy does not at all mean that anything goes. There is, first of all, organization and discipline (including party discipline). There is also responsibility. The authors would do well to think over such extreme demands and declarations.

So just what can this new surge of confrontation, urged on by a wave of emotions, give us? Absolutely nothing! All the energy again evaporates! This surge will not result in more foodstuffs for the workers, more consumer goods or additional social benefits. So let us be wise and reasonable. Let us look at the map of the country. Here is Russia and here is Estonia. In comparison with the mighty federation, Estonia is just a tiny little piece of land. And this little piece is the Estonian Homeland, the only place on the entire planet, 150 million and less than 1 million. The great Lenin urged the Russians to be tolerant and tractable with regards to small ethnic groups and nations. So who, instead of us, should be first to calm their own emotions today?

#### **People's Front Leader Lauristin Comments on Role, Need for Front**

*18000873 Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian No 12, Dec 88 pp 30-35*

[Interview with Maryu Lauristin, board member, Estonian People's Front by Correspondent A. Lang: "In the Name of Popular Sovereignty"]

[Text] [Correspondent] It is now the end of October; not long ago, the Estonian People's Front held a congress at which this mass movement in support of perestroika, born last Spring, took shape as an organization. And now it is a matter of legal recognition as an integral part of our political system. Important events in the political life of the republic preceded the congress: the Spring crisis of faith in the policy of the Estonian CP Central Committee at that time; the "singing revolution;" the selection of a

new leader for the republic party organization; hammering out a platform for the Estonian CP delegation to the 19th All Union Party Conference; the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum; the powerful, emotional popular gatherings on Pevcheskiy Field; and many others.

How would you summarize the reasons for the hot, in a political sense, Spring and Summer of this year, and the role of the People's Front in the events which took place?

[Lauristin] Chief among the reasons, in my view, is the hope aroused in the people for finally getting rid of the political and economic oppression of Stalinism and the stagnation period. For Estonia (and all the Baltic States), perestroika signifies a way out, not only from the economic and socio-political crisis; but also a renaissance of national dignity, and the elimination of historical injustice. It was precisely this that served as the impetus for last summer's emotional outburst, and the birth of an atmosphere of decisive action. Recognition of the possible fateful consequences of the evolving situation also had its effect, as well as recognition of the danger to posterity from the ecological and demographic situation in connection with the phosphorite episode. Thanks to the broad popularity of the ideas of IMD, what was originally a spontaneous emotional popular movement acquired a constructive, rational essence. We understood that many matters in the republic were going very badly; but at the same time, we also realized that correcting them depends upon us, ourselves. The entire nation was faced with Hamlet's question: To be or not to be? There could be only one answer—to be; by all means, to be. But from now on we must soberly discuss—how to be?

I see the role of the Estonian People's Front in the fact that specific economic and cultural requirements and spontaneous expression of ideas through a broad popular movement would unite as a single political force, under the pressure of which we have already made significant strides in the direction of democracy.

[Correspondent] Do you not find, as a communist and one of the leaders of the People's Front, that the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum has created a principally new situation and the prerequisites for consolidation of the forces which support perestroika in Estonia?

[Lauristin] The 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum pointed out, that the aspirations of the people have become more important for the republic's party leadership than bureaucratic instructions from the union-level departments. At the end of last year and early this year, when we were discussing the unhappily well-known resolution on nationalism in the Baltic Republics, the situation was entirely different. Presently a truly new situation has come to pass, which opens the possibility of a significant political dialogue between the party and the people on important questions of the republic's development. The party's recognition of the

sovereign right of the people to make decisions establishes the prerequisite for the joint struggle of the Estonian CP and the Popular Front with the anti-perestroika forces, and for the democratic renewal of society both in the republic, and in the entire country.

As a communist I believe that the Estonian Communist Party will be able to liberate itself from the burden of the past; that it will no longer ashamedly close its eyes to the past; and that, considering the lessons of history, it will begin to build a just, democratic society; that it will no longer present its members unethical choices between a party card and the welfare of the people, under the pretext of observing party discipline. We, the communists of the People's Front, have made our choice. We have chosen honesty, humanity and Estonia; and I am convinced that all members of the Estonian Communist Party who stand for the renovation of our society think likewise.

[Correspondent] What difficulties will the progressive forces of Estonia face, in your view, on the path to bringing the people together and putting into effect the numerous resolutions passed at the congress of the People's Front?

[Lauristin] The greatest difficulty that I see is the present instability in the political situation in the republic. We do not yet possess the democratic mechanisms which stabilize a society, which permit the various political forces to openly defend their positions and seek constructive solutions, without introducing dangerous tensions into social development. Thus far our society's ability to find equilibrium is such, that when any opposition forces enter the arena, or when different political thought appears, people accustomed to thinking in the old way become frightened, or even aggressive. Democracy and political pluralism, incidentally, are unthinkable in the absence of open discussion, or the clash of various political forces and aspirations. We must get used to this, but at the same time it is important to develop the democratic mechanisms which would provide balance among differing points of view.

At the present time the political confrontation of Estonians and non-Estonians on the basic questions of the republic's development—restoring its sovereignty and defending the possibilities for preservation and development of the indigenous populace—is creating a very tense situation in Estonia. On these questions there can and must be a democratic dialogue, one which takes mutual interests into consideration. I am convinced that the causes for the tension revolve around not so much national relations, as much as different political cultures and ideological viewpoints, shaped by different historical experiences. During the Stalin regime the Estonians suffered only half the indignities that our eastern neighbors did. Therefore our pre-Stalin political experience is better preserved; moreover, our immunity to dogmatic and demagogic ways of thought as a whole is stronger.

But it would be naive to consider this historical distinction as some kind of special national property. The historical self-awareness of the Estonians is not without the specters of the past, and it has not yet matured enough for self-critical analysis and a proper dialog with other nations. Even less prepared for such self-awareness are those people and nations, among whom nearly three generations were under the thrall of Stalinist ideology.

You see, for many the revelation of historical truth and the acknowledgment of a crisis situation in our society, including the recognition that the national problem is not solved, was the equivalent of a personal failure. It is a question of, if you will, a massive psychological shock which is hard to overcome. Self-definition and acquiring balance in the new situation will take time. Along with this, the most dangerous things are mutual impatience, enmity and aggressiveness.

[Correspondent] A good deal has been said about the aspirations of the People's Front and its future position in our political system. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to hear your opinion on the goals of the People's Front and its relations with the Estonian CP and the higher and local organs of power, and the possibilities of cooperation with them and other social organizations and movements.

[Lauristin] The People's Front [PF] is a volunteer association of all those people who want to see our entire society as a whole and Estonia in particular become free and democratic. We are ready to cooperate with everyone who sincerely aspires to those same goals.

I believe that interaction between the PF and that portion of the party which speaks out for perestroika is natural and necessary. Moreover, without the joint efforts of the party and the PF it will not be possible to find a way out of the rather tense and dangerous situation of today, which gives rise to nationalist confrontations on the one hand, and the opposition of the bureaucracy and technocracy to democratic changes on the other.

Our relations with the apparatus of party authority, the republic government and local organs of control are reminiscent in a certain sense of relations with an unsuitable partner, since with the rise of the PF, all the organs of power and control have begun to feel the pressure dictated by the will of the people. Democratically-inclined leaders themselves understand the expedience of pressure on the part of the people, and are developing fruitful cooperation with us. But the bureaucracy along with the technocracy see danger in the PF, for we do not acknowledge their monopoly and their preference for making decisions for the people and in the name of the people.

At the present time, when the fundamental question of our political life has become the consolidation of both national and all generally democratic forces in order to

smash the opposition of the union-level departments to the sovereignty of the republic and the accomplishments of the IME, cooperation of the People's Front and other movements with the Estonian Communist Party has become especially urgent. In order to expand cooperation, the PF has established a political advisory council, which brings together various organizations and movements around the "round table."

I believe cooperation between the People's Front and the organs of Soviet power to be especially important. The Soviets of People's Deputies are vested with the basic ability to put our democratic aspirations into effect. We intend to actively participate in the preparation of decisions by Soviet organs and in their public discussion, organization of elections, and so on. We sometimes call the PF a voters' front as well, having in mind that participation in elections and the work of the Soviets and cooperation with the deputies are for us principally important sectors of activity.

[Correspondent] Speaking about democratization of state power at the People's Front congress, you cited among the most important tasks, the democratic formation of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and the local Soviets. Currently new laws on elections are being drafted. What do you think must necessarily be stipulated in them, in order for them to express the true will of the people? How will PF participation in the election campaign be reflected?

[Lauristin] Along with free nomination of candidates and no restrictive registration conditions whatsoever, the organization of the election campaign itself is important. I believe that deputies of the organs of state power at all levels should be elected by direct and equal voting. Therefore I do not like the idea of direct election of only the the congresses of USSR and Estonian SSR People's Deputies (and even then not in the full amount!), which in turn would indirectly elect the highest legislative organs—the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet of our republic. Thus the principle of direct election will extend only to the formation of local Soviets. The people reacted warmly to the idea of direct election to such a politically important state post as chairman of a Soviet at any level. It is precisely through the democratic electoral mechanism that the People's Front intends to facilitate the establishment of genuine popular rule, and the establishment of a legal state and a firm foundation for the process of democratization.

At the forthcoming elections for the organs of state power we must realize the importance of the state and political activity of every deputy, and his views, attitude toward and responsibility for solving those social problems which people in Estonia have been talking about at the top of their lungs all year long. The deputies must become the genuine expression of the will of their electors. And this presupposes constant and close contacts with the candidates—and later, likewise between the deputies and their electors.

With respect to PF participation in the election campaign I believe that it should occupy itself primarily with preparing the electors politically, to make a conscious choice among competing candidates. The front plans to present its own candidates for election and take part in hammering out their election platforms. We shall strive in every way to ensure that the deputies are well-informed and very decisive.

[Correspondent] And do you yourself assume that your own continuing political activeness as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet will express the will of the electors?

[Lauristin] It's possible.

[Correspondent] Recently mention was made more than once of the low level and the fragility of our political culture, which during the Stalin era and the time of stagnation was in general completely suppressed. In spite of such a legacy, in the stormy events of the present our people displayed both political maturity, realistic thinking, reasonableness, and a sense of responsibility. How would you explain this phenomenon?

[Lauristin] Our nation is wise; it possesses a sense of dignity and honor, and when it is sufficiently well-informed it can without fear and without looking back, make judgments about matters and about people. But the nation has a good deal of sad experience as well, which has taught it caution, which has even given rise to a certain degree of skepticism and has put it on guard against ill-considered steps. I think that our political culture is not all that fragile, if one looks at its age-old experience in organizing self-government.

[Correspondent] The People's Front is a school of politics for those who take part in it. Which political and moral principles are considered important to observe in this school?

[Lauristin] Among political principles—respect for the sovereign rights of the people and rejection of totalitarianism. Of the moral principles—sincerity of aspirations; rising above personal complexes and ambitions; rejection of black-or-white issues; readiness for cooperation and openness with everyone in whom there is good will and honesty; and, decisiveness in defending the truth and one's own principles, even in a situation of fierce opposition.

[Correspondent] Could the People's Front promote earlier activation of our young people and their responsible entry into political life?

[Lauristin] I have faith that the People's Front will help bring about a social atmosphere in which the young people would abandon their alienation from and lack of faith in politics. The feeling of responsibility grows together with the opportunities to do something independently and to bear responsibility for one's actions.

[Correspondent] It seems expedient for the Estonian CP and the People's Front to work out a joint platform for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which will be devoted to national relations. What is your attitude toward such cooperation? What is your personal view of the possible means and the deadline for implementing the programmed positions of the PF about concluding a union pact [soyuznyy dogovor]?

[Lauristin] As you know, scholars engaged in research on national relations are currently working out such a platform. The PF is ready to take part in its discussion and amendment.

The platform of the People's Front itself on the national question is laid out with sufficient clarity in its program.

As far as working out a union pact is concerned, realization of this idea encountered great difficulties from the start, all things considered—since far from every union republic, not to mention Moscow even, has recognized such a need. I think the idea of a union pact must be worked out rapidly, and that the other union republics should provide support. A union pact is the sole alternative to the centralized unitarian state, that guarantees the sovereignty of the republics. Without this guarantee I do not believe it will be possible for the country to get out of the present economic and political crisis.

[Correspondent] It would appear that the People's Front needs its own newspaper. What are the prospects on publishing it? Should the paper be published in Tartu? Will its pages be offered to the "green" movement, for example; or to other unofficial organizations which cooperate with the PF?

[Lauristin] The prospects are, it would appear, not bad—if it is possible to come by the necessary amount of paper. In Tartu we plan to publish a theoretical magazine for the People's Front; but the newspaper will probably be published in Tallinn, initially.

That the pages of our newspaper will be accessible, of course, goes without saying—after all, we are striving to attract to a united front as many democratic forces as possible, which are ready to discuss and resolve the basic problems of Estonia.

[Correspondent] In the days of the Spring crisis of faith you spoke at the session of the collegium of the Journalist's Union on the role of journalism in perestroika. And in your speech at the PF congress you stressed the role of the press in the preparations for the coming democratic elections, the time for which has already come. As the head of a university journalism department, what is your advice and what are your desires for the Estonian press at the present stage of development of democracy and glasnost?

[Lauristin] Especially important right now is the political culture of the journalists themselves: that they have a democratic platform; that taking it as their point of departure, they recognize the essence of the strivings of the various social forces; and that they be able to give meaning to contemporary political and economic attitudes. A good journalist today is an expert on political questions, who thinks independently, and operates according to a clear-cut program.

COPYRIGHT: "Kommunist Estonii", 1988.

**Study of Humanities, Science of Nationalities  
Lacking in Estonia**

18000872 Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian  
No 12, Dec 88 pp 36-47

[Article by Yu. Kakhk, member of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences: "Has Cinderella's Hour Struck?"]

[Text] The discovery of superconductivity of certain substances at relatively high temperatures is considered one of the major discoveries of recent times. There is still no information in the literature about the widespread practical application of this discovery, but all authors emphasize its future revolutionary influence on many spheres of production and life. Isn't this persuasive confirmation, from the standpoint of social progress (as well as economic development and the improvement of people's well-being), of the importance of basic research that does not initially pursue any practical goals?

Party documents and scholarly literature have repeatedly emphasized that science is a productive force in our times. But it would be a big mistake to interpret this generally correct principle in a broad fashion. Science is a productive force primarily by virtue of its results. If one sets the goal for science of merely increasing output or changing certain conditions (proceeding from truths that are already known), there will be no revolutionary transformations. In beginning to study the mysteries of the atomic nucleus, physicists did not set themselves the goal of inventing the atomic bomb, although it was precisely as a result of their research that it was developed.

Socioeconomic factors exert a powerful influence on the development of science; nonetheless, it is moved by its own laws. A. Rakitov, who studies the philosophical aspects of scientific cognition, characterizes science as a system of knowledge whose operation results in the "creation of new knowledge."

Let us further examine the state of the humanities and social sciences, with respect to which the general laws of the development of science manifest themselves in certain distinctive ways.

Lately a great deal has rightfully been said about the crisis being experienced by the social sciences and, in part, the humanities as well. Attention is called to

specific mistakes and shortcomings, but when it comes to their causes, nothing is offered but unsupported references to dogmatism and transgressions of scholarly ethics. Yet the problem also evidently lies in the fact that, along with the deformation of socialism under the conditions of the Stalinist repressive regime and Brezhnevian hypocrisy, the Leninist principle of party-mindedness [partiynost] in science was also distorted.

P. Feuerabend, many of whose philosophical views are not shared by Soviet scholars, but whose observations regarding the development and objectives of science nonetheless hold a certain interest, asserts that in totalitarian states science is under control. However, according to [Feuerabend], even scholars' own control over science is not an alternative to the totalitarian system. Expenditures of public funds for science should be controlled by society itself by democratic means. P. [Feuerabend] angrily condemns an arrangement whereby a "gang of intellectual parasites" wastes the taxpayers' money for all sorts of faddish nonsense. Demanding that science, like religion, be separated from the state (the system of government), Feuerabend categorically objects to turning science itself into the "dominant religion."

Our country has one of the strongest and most well-developed systems of academic science. But in the state that created it, the gradually bureaucratized state apparatus gradually intensified the administrative regulation of science, which until recently had an especially ruinous effect on the development of the social sciences. On the one hand, scientists were called on to study real life with its pluses and minuses, and on the other, steps were taken to keep the minuses quiet. On the one hand, the importance of basic research was declared, and on the other, criticism was leveled at scientists who allegedly advanced science merely for the sake of science itself ("narrow dissertation interests"). On the one hand, it was demanded that the social sciences react promptly to the requirements of everyday life, and on the other, the most important thing in those sciences—the development of new solutions and scientific forecasts—was undervalued.

**People and Structures**

What is the situation in Estonia? What specific tasks should we set for ourselves?

Before moving on to a concrete analysis, I want to repeat one commonly known truth that is, however, often ignored in the practice of the administration of science: in comparison to the sciences that are concerned with inanimate nature, the social sciences and humanities occupy a special place in a national republic; at the same time, a special responsibility is placed on them. Estonian physicists and chemists can and should carry out scientific exploration (independently or in collaboration with larger scientific centers) only in the areas in which they specifically can make a fundamental contribution to the

treasury of world science. The achievements of K. Rebane, Ya. Eynasto, E. Lipmaa, V. Palma and others show what they are capable of. On the other hand, no one in the world will study local socioeconomic processes, the Estonian language and history, our culture and cultural legacy for us.

The nationality sciences represent one and, perhaps, the most valuable part of the humanities and social sciences. M. S. Gorbachev called the unique originality of the Soviet peoples' national cultures a valuable accomplishment of the united Soviet state. The nationality sciences have a leading role to play in the preservation and multiplication of that wealth. However, provincial narrow-mindedness and isolation must not be allowed in them. They should maintain constant contact with and keep in step with the development of science in the country and the world. Their contribution to international science is the chief standard for measuring the level of the nationality sciences, just as it is for the other sciences.

The postwar years were also favorable for the development of scholars in the humanities and social sciences. Although the relatively weak physical, chemical and technical sciences began to develop at priority rates at that time, the ranks of scholars in the humanities and social sciences also began to grow. By the mid-1960s it was already noted that there were more scholars in history and jurisprudence in Estonia than in the other Baltic republics. Estonia came to be recognized as a scientific center in the study of language and literature, particularly Finno-Ugric languages and literatures.

What is the situation as of today?

Whereas in 1960-1985 the number of associates grew by a factor of 5 at the Institute of Chemistry, by a factor of nearly 3.5 at the Institute of Physics, and by a factor of more than 3 at the Institute of Zoology and Botany, the number grew by a factor of 3 at the Institute of Economics, a factor of approximately 2.5 at the Institute of Language and Literature, and by a factor of just over 2 at the Institute of History. (It should be noted that the increase in personnel in the physical sciences and mathematics was achieved in large part by increasing the amount of contract work, i.e., those sciences earned their own funds for development.)

It must be said that until just recently the Institute of History alone represented such major disciplines of the humanities and social sciences as history, archaeology, ethnography, philosophy and sociology. However, the figures do not reflect the complete picture. Over the period of time in question, major new scientific institutions were established in the exact sciences: institutes of astrophysics and the physics of the atmosphere, of chemical physics and biophysics, and of cybernetics, as well as two design bureaus. As for the social sciences and humanities, nothing new was added in these fields. To the contrary, the Museum of the Estonian People, which

previously belonged to the Academy, was transferred to another system. Regression also took place at Tartu University: in the postwar years it had independent departments of archaeology and the history of Estonia, but they were subsequently eliminated.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that over the years research staffs have increasingly aged, and many prominent specialists have departed for well-deserved retirement. Consequently, such important disciplines—important from the standpoint of national language and national culture and history—as archaeology, ethnography, folklore, and Finno-Ugric studies have found themselves in a difficult situation with respect to staffing. The concern for the state of the nationality sciences that was voiced this spring at the combined plenum of the creative unions' boards is understandable and justified.

Most republics have a separate institute of language and institute of literary studies (with the exception of Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Lithuania and Latvia). All the union republics have long since had independent institutes of philosophy and law. Eight republics (including the relatively small republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia and Armenia) have independent research institutions in archaeology and ethnography (often two separate institutes). The Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics have separate research centers for oriental studies—the history, culture and languages of the East. Our republic, for example, lacks an Institute of the Northern Countries.

As of 1988, the institutes of the social sciences divisions of the three Baltic union republics' academies of science had the following numbers of staff members: [insert table, p. 39]

As we see, a comparison of the figures on staffing is not in our favor, since until recently we had no Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law. Its establishment and staffing are now being completed, but even that will not add to our research forces, at least in the initial period—the new institute is being formed by drawing scholars from the other humanities and social sciences institutes, i.e., on the basis of current staffing numbers.

The use of mathematical methods must be considered the strong side of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences in comparison to the academies of our neighbors in the Baltic region. Two sectors at the Institute of Economics engage in mathematical modeling, and the heads of both of them (Doctors of Science Yu. Ennuste and I. Kaganovich) have won recognition in our country and abroad. Thanks to M. Remellyu, the Institute of Language and Literature holds the leading place in the country in the field of mathematical linguistics.

### On the Fruitfulness of Scientific Labor

Determining the fruitfulness of the scientific institutes' work is an extremely difficult matter. The fruits of labor at various research institutes and in various areas of research are expressed in highly specific ways. If you take publications, for example, some of them represent a serious contribution to science or culture and move them forward, while others rehash truisms and remain untouched on archive shelves, while yet others contain significant recommendations or studies pertaining to the practical application of research results that contribute to economic or social development. Therefore, it would be correct to abandon the practice of comparing the effectiveness of different institutes and areas of research in terms of the total number of publications. They can be used only to draw certain conclusions about the level of a given institute or area of research. The number of our publications in other union republic and abroad provides certain grounds for qualitative and quantitative measurement.

In the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, the keeping of records on scholarly publications is done only in the Division of Social Sciences, but on the basis of this data, I repeat, only certain very cautious conclusions can be drawn.

Our contribution to Soviet and world science over the past decade has increased only in certain areas: archaeology, ethnography, mathematical linguistics, folk music and sociology. In all other areas of science, which is most of them, no particular progress was made. During this period there were relatively few major scientific accomplishments and works.

The discovery in 1983 in Rebala, near Tallinn, of the oldest (more than two millennia) plowlands in the USSR was a major event. Scientists had to make tremendous efforts to save them from the excavators of the Maardu Chemical Plant. Now, by decree of the republic government, these fields have been recognized as a historical and agrarian reserve and cannot be touched. But research there is only beginning.

In that same year of 1983, in mathematical linguistics an original method was developed for deriving the basic tone of speech, thanks to which the processing of oral material will take about one-twentieth as much time in the future.

The decree on improving the economic mechanism of the agroindustrial complex that was developed in 1984-1987 and approved by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee can be considered a substantial contribution by economists. However, as life has shown, the decree itself already needs to be improved. The institute has received an important assignment—a temporary research collective set up at the institute is supposed to work out the conception of the republic's transition to full cost accounting and self-financing, along with drafts

of the necessary normative documents, which will form the basis for the preparation of an appropriate decree of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The collection "Family and Culture," which brought together data for seven European countries, came out in 1984 in Budapest in a publication of UNESCO's Vienna center. The USSR is represented in it by materials from the Estonian SSR. Estonian sociologists took part in preparing the collection.

The basic six-volume publication "Estoniye poslovi-ity" [Estonian Proverbs] represents a significant contribution to world scholarship.

On the whole, however, we have experienced slow growth in the number of publications, seen only a few isolated areas of research produce works that reached the all-union and international arenas, and had rare discoveries and fundamental works. All this is one consequence of the negative effect of the years of stagnation on the social sciences and humanities.

The search for new paths and possibilities for the development of science is dictated not so much by the extremely modest results of scientific work as by life itself. The problems of our socioeconomic development demand that social scientists come up with new solutions, which means new ideas, and this, in turn, creates the need for a restructuring of the social sciences and humanities in the academy of sciences and the higher schools.

### Learning From Others and From History

Many foreign countries have separate academies of natural and technical sciences, on the one hand, and humanities and social sciences, on the other. Thanks to that, society can decide how much money to allocate to one area or the other, and misunderstandings and conflicts in the allocation of appropriations are ruled out.

It may be that we do not need such radical solutions. The USSR Academy of Sciences is moving toward a certain expansion of the autonomy of its divisions and toward granting them greater room for action. Thanks to this, the possibilities for developing the humanities and social sciences are already improving. It is very important to establish oversight by local bodies of authority and the public over the expenditure of the money allocated for science. As has repeatedly been emphasized, the state of the social sciences and humanities will not improve as long as the sole distributor of additional money continues to be the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, which, of its own accord, is concerned only with the technical and natural sciences. Republic bodies should have the right to vote in the determination of financing for science.

One unenviable distinctive feature of our academy institutes is that they have been compelled to take on concerns that are the concerns of publishing houses in the rest of the country and throughout the world. For example, the Institute of Language and Literature has had to publish dictionaries and classical works of Estonian literature. Yet this service to society has narrowed its ability to engage in its principal work, which is research. It is clear that the institute should be relieved of duties that do not properly belong to it. But if it is deemed necessary to use academy forces to publish certain works, the appropriate funds must be provided to do so.

In many countries scientific societies play an important role in developing the social sciences and humanities and in improving the overall educational level and spiritual activeness of the people. The activities of amateur societies and leagues with a scientific bent attest to a certain democracy and pluralism in science and serve as a guarantee of them. Unfortunately, our people's universities have failed to cope with that role. Among our existing scientific societies, only the societies of the indigenous language and of nature researchers, as well as the geographic society, have developed activities that are in keeping with today's demands.

Many useful initiatives are being born on the current wave of public activeness. Neither the academy institutes nor the higher schools have been able to organize the collection of oral folk historical legends. For years we worried about the fact that exceptionally valuable information was scattered among numerous peasant, regional-studies, and school museums, information that had not been inventoried and included in a composite catalogue, and thus, had not become the property of science. Now the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments has undertaken this work.

The Public Institute of Pedagogy and the Society of Psychologists, both headed by Academician Kh. Liymets, are doing major work in the area of pedagogy. The Enlightenment Society was born along with them and is already taking active part in the renewal of the entire field of public education. It might have been expected that the study of the history of the war would be stepped up with the recent establishment of the Academic Society of Military History. So far the Estonian Learned Society, which has been revived at Tartu State University and has honorable traditions, has not yet clearly defined its range of objectives.

Along with scientific societies, other democratic forms of scientific activity have also acquired the right to exist in the course of restructuring. For example, an association of young scholars for the study of Estonian literature abroad, whose activities are partially financed by the Institute of Language and Literature, has been set up with the assistance of the Estonian Culture Fund; a small

enterprise set up this spring has taken on the responsibility for emergency archaeological digs, which have proved burdensome for the Institute of History; and so forth.

As we known, in other countries scientific societies present a rather variegated picture. Associations of every conceivable sort concern themselves with music, history, art, etc., and at least judging from their titles, the spheres of their activity are able to be covered to a significant extent. Evidently the activities of all these organizations are supported by a public need—they exist as long as their members have sufficient enthusiasm, time and funding. It is noteworthy that people themselves create amateur scientific organizations, and even organizations that engage in serious science. And if some of them are partially financed by the state, that is achieved through a popular representative body—the parliament, which interested people petition and which makes decisions on the basis of public interests.

In our country the sphere of scientific societies has been relatively weakly developed until recently. Yet, as previously noted, it is that sphere that can and should provide for a wide range of amateur scientific activities, pluralism and democracy. In addition to everything else, scientific societies represent a preparatory stage for professional science—associations in which capable and talented people who have already made certain accomplishments gather sooner or later achieve the status of professional scientific centers.

There is a problem of interaction between scientific societies and the institutes. The country's existing academy system of coordination is not coping with this job, since it has no rights and powers. This spring the bureau of the ESSR Academy of Sciences' Division of Social Sciences took action to eliminate most of the coordinating bodies that existed previously and ordered the division's institutes to coordinate research work themselves and develop close cooperation, on a democratic basis, with the higher schools and museums. Cooperation between the academy institutes and the scientific societies is now on the agenda. Evidently this should be begun with the branches of science, and hope should not be placed in the Council of Societies, whose tasks go far beyond the limits of scientific activity. At the very least, a permanent exchange of information must be set up, and when necessary, administrative or communications agencies operating according to democratic principles also ought to be established.

In speaking of today's tasks, first place should be assigned to providing a radical change in the methods and contents of the social sciences and humanities. The Stalinist period and period of stagnation, with the terror of the former and dogmatism of the latter, did immense damage to historical scholarship in general and the history of literature, in particular, and economics also suffered severely. False evaluations of historical events

deeply offended the human sense of justice and compromised science. The vulgarizing approach to our literary legacy and the effective declaration of Estonian literature abroad to be nonexistent distorted the real picture. The gap between words and deeds had a ruinous effect on economics. In turn, the ignoring of the mistakes committed in nationalities policy and the disregard for the ecological dangers associated with industrial development discredited the social sciences.

### New Tasks, New Problems

It is difficult and, perhaps, even superfluous to speak of a fundamental restructuring of science. Forecasting the development of science is contrary to its chief distinctive feature—it is intended to discover the unknown. From the recent past each of us knows full well what damage was done to science by administration by decree and the detailed "setting of tasks" (often false tasks, where the social sciences were concerned). A mechanism for formulating and putting forward new tasks is built into science itself. The more solid the material base of science is, the more deeply democratic it is, and the more room there is in it for struggle among different opinions, the more smoothly that mechanism operates. Planning and administration should be restricted to determining spheres of activity and pointing out problems that need to be addressed.

However, the greatest shortcomings now lie precisely in creating the material conditions for the development of science. Although the administrative bodies and central apparatus of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences direct and plan, their efforts, for example, in acquiring equipment and providing for publications draw serious reproaches and criticism. A situation has come about whereby the institutes are forced to get hold of their own equipment, despite the fact that the academy has special departments for planning and supply. It is considered natural that a scientist should have to see to the publication of his own works—from the search for paper for printing to the physical delivery of the finished product.

At a general meeting of the academy at the beginning of the year, the author of this article called attention to the need for democratic transformations in the procedures for staffing the institutes' councils and administrations. The USSR Academy of Sciences has adopted new regulations that provide for the active participation of research staffs and the public in this procedure. The Division of the Social Sciences is already attempting to apply the new principles without waiting for changes in the republic Regulations on the Academy of Sciences.

This June the USSR Council of Ministers authorized the formation of the ESSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law. Only it is by no means sufficient to limit ourselves to concentrating research personnel (of which one can say there are already enough in sociology and philosophy) in the new institute.

Restructuring in sociology should consist in the treatment of topics related to the republic's social development. For example, little is being done to study the sociopsychological aspects of production collectives, although that is precisely where the center of gravity of restructuring has now been shifted. Thanks to Academician Ya. Rebane's group, the necessary preparation has been done for a study of nationality relations that is based on a solid scientific footing and factual material.

Thanks to the purposeful work and enthusiasm of the republic's working people, and to our creative and scientific intelligentsia, the short-range and long-range tasks for socioeconomic research have already been formulated rather fully in the programs for a cost-accounting-based Estonia, and there is no point in repeating them here. Academic and higher-school science (economics, sociology and jurisprudence) are called on to show concerted efforts and a high degree of responsibility in participating in the accomplishment of these tasks. At the same time, such areas as economic mathematics, demography, ecological psychology, political science and social forecasting, which provide for progress in science itself, also must be developed.

The state of research in the field of law is unsatisfactory, while life itself is presenting more and more new problems (the implementation of the Law on the State Enterprise, the establishment of the republic's sovereignty, the question of citizenship, etc.). In the future a professional research center for psychology—an area that presently receives very little treatment in the republic—probably will also be established at the institute.

It would also be a good idea to increase efforts in the study of the history and contemporary sociopolitical and economic development of our neighbors—the Scandinavian countries and Finland.

Our archaeologists have at their disposal a research center that is unique in the USSR. Unfortunately, efforts to provide it with up-to-date equipment have encountered great difficulties. (The archaeologists are awaiting more vigorous action on the part of the academy's supply agencies.)

In archaeology and the history disciplines, in general, broader use should be made of mathematical methods; in history, sociopolitical aspects must be taken into account; and in ethnography, research into the customs and social relations of the past as they relate to the present day must be stepped up.

Linguists are currently engaged in the development of mathematical linguistics. Literary research is in need of radical restructuring. On the basis of the folk-music research that has been successfully begun, it would be a good idea for us to establish an all-union center for the study of the folk music of the Finno-Ugric peoples.

Unfortunately, because of a personnel shortage, certain areas of research in folklore, in general, such as the study of folk tales and legends, and mythology, are not very well developed.

The Museum of the Estonian People (the former Museum of Ethnography) has been doing extensive and noble work to collect and preserve monuments of the material culture of the Estonian and other Finno-Ugric peoples. Everything possible must be done to support and speed up the construction of new museum buildings at the Raadi Farmstead near Tartu. But a museum is still a museum, and its potential for doing scientific research is limited. The same can be said of the ESSR Academy of Sciences' Literary Museum imini Fr. R. Kreysvald in Tartu. Two years ago our leading ethnographer A. Viyres, a foreign member of the Finnish and Swedish royal academies, proposed combining the former Museum of Ethnography and the Literary Museum to create a research center for the study of national culture and the national cultural legacy, which would perform the functions both of a research institute operating on a world level and a museum preserving the treasury of national culture. Isn't it time to begin implementing this idea in the course of the current revolutionary transformations?

Collaboration between institutes of the ESSR Academy of Sciences and research institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences has been developing favorably. Granted, lately the campaign to develop every conceivable sort of program has been producing some misfires; in the course of that campaign the distinctive nature of the social sciences and humanities has been forgotten. The concentration of research efforts on the accomplishment of tasks of nationwide significance in the areas of physics, chemistry, technology and biotechnology is unquestionably warranted and has certain advantages. But attempts to force all the country's science into the framework of programs are hardly justifying themselves. A supercentralized and bureaucratized scientific empire has been developing: according to existing data, as of 1980 the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology already had on record about 200 special-purpose programs comprising approximately 6,000 scientific and technological tasks.

Programs in the social sciences and humanities are also developed in the USSR Academy of Sciences. The Division of History has already prepared 14 comprehensive research programs in history, each of which consists of several dozen topics (in archaeology, for example, there are more than 100). The purpose of the programs is to concentrate research efforts on the study of major problems, and therefore they do not (and should not) give any attention to local questions in history and specific local matters—the smallest regions encompassed by programs are Central Asia, the Baltic republics, etc. The programs and their accompanying instructional materials invite the republics' historians to collaborate, but do not impose collaboration. It would be a distortion of the essence of restructuring to demand nowadays for historians and other

scholars in the humanities and social sciences to pursue their own topics—letter for letter—in accordance with all-union programs. Relations between union and republic lines of research in the social sciences and humanities should be built not on the principle of subordination and administrative-command "methods," but on the basis of collaboration. (We all remember quite well how much harm was done by the USSR Ministry of Education's attempt to dissolve the history of other Soviet peoples in the history of the Russian people.)

The union republics' social scientists are involved in a number of union research programs. In addition to everything that is positive, certain problems have also arisen, such as an irrational attraction to bigness for its own sake. This is the second five-year period now in which a program for forecasting scientific and technological progress has existed under the aegis of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The program's goal is laudable in every respect—to enlist the republics' scientific potential in the joint forecasting of scientific and technological progress and the development of recommendations for planning social and economic development. The program very quickly became deformed into a pedantically regulated system for the collection of economic statistics. The center of gravity was shifted from the technical and natural sciences (for which it is extremely difficult to make long-range forecasts) to economics. In the context of today's major transformations, establishment of the principles of cost accounting, and democratization, planning forecasts are becoming an even more difficult matter. The purposes and objectives of this union program should be clarified in accordance with the new conditions. After all, the main issues pertaining to the socioeconomic development of the Estonian SSR should be resolved by the local population through its bodies of authority and administration, from which the initial data go to union planning agencies. The task of the comprehensive program for scientific and technological progress is to seek the most intelligent options for the utilization of science for the purpose of fulfilling plans. At the present time it is not performing these functions.

The need to raise the level of the social sciences and humanities confronts us with two tasks: the taking of general scientific methodology into account, and the integration of the sciences. The greatest harm to these sciences has been done by the increasingly frequent practice of ignoring—voluntarily or involuntarily—the methods of general scientific analysis and proof. When research is supposed to prove what is expected "from above" but is at odds with reality, logic has been ignored, and proofs have been replaced by examples. In the future, in evaluating the merits of scientific research, critical attention should be given precisely to the aspect of its proof.

A great deal that is good has been written about the need for cooperation among the various branches of science, that is, the need for the integration of science, yet the

results have been unimpressive. The use of mathematical methods in history and linguistics and of methods from the natural sciences in archaeology has already been mentioned. In a more concrete sense, integration is expressed, for example, in the combination of economic and sociological methods. A number of our scientists (Ya. Rebane, I. Rayg) have pointed out the need for this in the belief that it is impossible, otherwise, to study such a complex phenomenon, say, as the relationship between the city and the countryside, with respect to which there long existed a dogmatically oversimplified notion of the blurring of differences between the city and the countryside. It is thanks to integration in the social sciences that it is possible to combine the soundness of basic research with the application of that research.

The shifting of science to cost accounting puts the technical and natural sciences in an entirely new situation. Obviously, there will be increased controls over what research by Estonian scientists will be included in union programs of basic research, and the development of science will be more dependent on local natural conditions and the local economy. But the "principle of the free market" will scarcely be applied with respect to sciences that serve sociopolitical goals or the development of national culture. Granted, the tasks of the social sciences and humanities will also have to be adjusted.

In certain branches of the social sciences parallel systems with inadequately defined tasks have come to exist. For example, the State Planning Committee's Research Institute of Economics and Planning and the ESSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics operate side by side. It seems natural that the State Planning Committee's institute would engage in the short-term solution of specific problems in economic life, while the academic institute would concern itself with basic research or such major and long-range tasks as preparation for the republic's changeover to cost accounting, the improvement of the agroindustrial complex's economic mechanism, and the development of new methods in economics. But in reality the Institute of Economics has to constantly handle short-term economic tasks. Whereas in 1984 it presented government and planning agencies with 19 reports, in 1985 the number was 42, the next year it was "only" 39, and last year it was fully 82. In 1987 it also presented proposals for improving the health-care system in Khiumaa and for developing tourism on Rukhnu Island, a forecast of the production of molds up to the year 2005, and so forth.

Until the tasks of parallel research institutions are clarified, the organizational structure of the academy institutes should be improved in order to clearly distinguish between researchers concerned with basic research and those handling short-term tasks. The present planning system in research institutions is slow to respond to changes; progress in dealing with research topics is poorly monitored; and the shifting of research personnel from one topic to another is difficult. We should probably use the system of research projects that is widespread

throughout the world—scientists are hired only for a specific time period and for a precisely defined project. A scientist who has successfully coped with an assignment is given the opportunity to take on a new project. Only a small number of scientists who have proven their talents engage in basic research with a free choice of topics. In this way the unity of basic and applied research is ensured.

It was administration by decree that did the greatest harm to the social sciences during the years of stagnation. Both administrators and science itself were compromised by the numerous tasks that were formulated from time to time and that required effective prescriptions, for example, for the reduction of crime, for the shaping of young people's morals, etc. to be worked out in unrealistically short times. Although life itself exposed the unrealistic nature of such tasks, this practice continued.

When the social sciences are given a social commission, much greater competence must be shown. All the same, a line must be drawn between certain areas of science that provide information essential for the management of society (for example, sociology), and others that possess tools that make it possible to bring about changes in spiritual life and social and economic development (economics, pedagogy, and in part, psychology). The social effectiveness of some sciences—history, say—can be increased by their more active and up-to-date popularization (articles in the press, radio and television programs). Experts could make use of social scientists and enlist them in propaganda work.

The process of democratization, which gained particular scope following the 19th All-Union Party Conference, places high new demands on us. Not a single state decision should be made without a preliminary scientific study. Optimal decisions should be sought in the works of competing groups of experts. Some of our present difficulties, such as those involved in implementation of the Law on the State Enterprise, are caused by none other than the fact that that law was prepared in insufficient detail, without the enlistment of scientists. And when a scientifically substantiated decision has been worked out, it is incumbent first of all on those same scientists to provide for its discussion and the sociopsychological transformation of a state decision into a decision of the whole people.

The immense importance of the social sciences and humanities for the development of the world's first socialist state is continually declared from high rostrums, although in reality these sciences for a long time found themselves in the role of Cinderella. Has Cinderella's hour finally struck?

**Russian-Language Programming in Latvia  
Detailed**

18000853 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in  
Russian 4 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by Latvian TV Youth Department Senior Editor  
Andrey Yakovlev: "What Do We See on the Screen?":  
"Thoughts on Russian-Language Programming on  
Latvian TV"]

[Text] The idea of the need for serious and regular  
Russian language programming on Latvian TV was  
initially floated about a year-and-a-half ago. Prior to that  
the television situation for many seemed entirely natu-  
ral: Latvians and those who know the Latvian language  
could watch the republic program, and for the rest of the  
populace there were two programs from Central Televi-  
sion. No one had ever complained to anyone, and  
everyone was satisfied with the state of affairs.

But the more rapidly events unfolded from day to day,  
the more obvious it became that Central Television was  
unable to provide answers to the multiple domestic  
questions in the republic, and that for the Latvian-  
speaking and Russian-speaking audience there were two  
streams of different information. The non-Latvian popu-  
lace especially suffered from lack of information. Quite  
often there were rumors and interpretations of events  
which did not correspond with reality, and some things  
were interpreted falsely. Passions became highly  
charged.

Had there been a "Russian channel" earlier, which the  
many people who do not know the Latvian language  
could call "their own," this information vacuum could  
have been eliminated; moreover, representatives of the  
Latvian intelligentsia would have also had the capability  
of appealing directly to that audience, describing the  
pain and alarm of the Latvians. I am convinced that this  
would have eased the strained international relations;  
and with some people it might possibly have shaken their  
grip on their stereotypes and might have forced them to  
think. But what is the point of talking about lost oppor-  
tunities now...

The Russian-language press tried to do something in this  
respect. True, it was not enough, and was not always  
successful... But here it is hard to blame anyone: on the  
one hand events were developing very dynamically; and  
on the other, on the basis of Russian-language publica-  
tions one was still unable to keep up with the facts and  
ideas expressed in the Latvian periodicals or heard on  
radio and TV—which were shaping public opinion  
among the indigenous nationality.

Analysis of the work of newspapers and magazines is not  
part of the problem which these remarks address. The  
question is one of television. Not just because I hold it  
dearest as a television journalist, but also because it is  
one of the most important channels, without which

contemporary information in general is inferior. Thus, I  
would like to speak today about the possibilities and  
prospects of Russian-language programming on Latvian  
TV.

In Latvia special Russian-language programming began  
in January 1983. For a short time this was a half-hour  
survey of the week's events; next came a daily ten-  
minute "News" broadcast, which used basically previous  
topics from "Panorama." Since this January, "News"  
has become a 15-minute program; it is somewhat more  
independent, and more original topics have appeared.  
Since last year, synchronous Russian-language transla-  
tions of the most important broadcasts have been simul-  
cast on the second program of Latvian radio. But for  
many it was obvious that this was not enough.

In October 1988 a resolution was adopted at the Latvian  
CP Central Committee Bureau Secretariat, on establishing  
a monthly information-musical program on Latvian TV.  
It was proposed to commence production in January. On  
the eve of the New Year, the Youth Department was  
instructed to quickly prepare the first program. And the  
decision adopted was as follows: Do not set up a special  
group, but instruct the various departments to go on the  
air with a "Russian" program once a month. First the  
Youth Department would do this, and then the Informa-  
tion, Drama and Literature, Musical, and Popular-Sci-  
ence Department, and so on.

The first such program, entitled "Conversation," which  
went on the air on 2 February, was devoted to language  
problems. Its premiere did not bring the authors much  
satisfaction. Although LITERATURA UN MAKSLA  
called it a "ray of light" in its weekly survey, the program  
was aired at 18:30 (an inconvenient time), and "cut  
into" the Second Program from Central Television. In  
the Latgalskiy region, because of technical problems, the  
first 15 minutes ran with "strange" sound. The second  
program, "How's it Going in Latvia?", came out in  
March. The entire republic saw it as a repeat, since  
reliable reception of the program, which was sent via the  
second central channel, could be technically guaranteed  
only for Riga and Kurzeme.

For the present day, no matter how you approach it, the  
situation is unsatisfactory. It was no accident that the  
latest resolution of the board of Gosteleradio stated:  
"The subject-matter of Russian-language television and  
radio broadcasts, in which the audience is objectively  
informed on the actual processes of socio-political life in  
the republic...must be expanded. Beginning with the  
second half of this year, the capabilities of Central  
Television's Second Program must be utilized to realize  
our programs."

Unquestionably, the subject matter must be expanded.  
But to speak only "about the actual processes" is alto-  
gether insufficient. What are needed are broadcasts or  
regular rubrics in the Russian language about the history  
and culture of Latvia, and of the traditions of the

Latvians and other nations, representatives of which live in the republic. And one cannot get along without questions on the economy, the ecology and so on. It would be most expedient to combine this into one Russian-language program (or, as they say on television, into one broadcast cycle). When necessary, special supplements can be prepared.

But why are Russian-language broadcasts needed at all, if with the passage of time everyone must master the state language anyway? I have heard this question on many occasions. How should one respond here? In the first place, I am convinced that the mass information media must first move to converge with their audience, and not the other way around. Ideally, every part of the audience in the republic should have "its own" program and its own journalists, whose words it can trust. Secondly, even a person who can get by in Latvian on an everyday level cannot always easily understand the rapid literary language, not to mention reading works of fiction. Thirdly, one has to remember that there are many events, facts and historical personalities which are well-known to the Latvian audience, but for a non-Latvian living in Latvia one has to start with the A-B-C's. Just as a pupil who has been ill does not grasp the topics in the middle of the course, having missed the first half—the television viewer of today does not comprehend the ideas and their outcomes, not knowing their previous history. One can hardly form an integrated, objective impression from fragmentary, random information. At the very same time one phenomenon of television is well known: having seen something on the screen, a person becomes interested and begins to seek more detailed information on the subject in magazines and books, and to discuss the subject with people who are better-informed. This would help some of the people become more rapidly integrated, to a certain extent, in the culture of the Baltic states.

How can a broadcast be made more effective? Sociological research and experience prove that such a program should appear on the air no less than twice a month, or else it is "lost" in the program, and cannot itself keep up with events. More frequent appearance is impossible owing to the limited resources of our TV. I believe that this should also be aired directly, and that there should be direct contact with the audience. The length should be an hour or an hour-and-a-half. "All this is like 'Labvakar!'" says the reader. On the whole, that's true. But copying another program never makes sense. If it does not find its audience, it will inevitably fade away. ("Labvakar!", incidentally, at first was also criticized for attempting to copy "Vzglyad.")

As far as special supplements are concerned—an in-depth investigation of some problem or other; or one dedicated to historical events or cultural phenomena—these should undoubtedly have a spot on Central Television's Second Program. But the original program—"aired directly"—is thus far possible only from a republic television program. But switching it there interferes with the deeply-rooted opinion that "You must not

reduce the Latvian language broadcasts" (For your information: the annual programming of Latvian TV is, 3,650 hours; daily programming is about nine hours. Of these, 4.5 hours (according to plan) are original broadcasts; the rest—artistic and documentary films in the Russian language, repeats and so on).

I know from my own experience how stingily broadcast hours and financial resources are allocated, and how complicated it can be to divide them "equitably" among the editors and departments. But some kind of compromise must be found: two-to-four hours per month for establishing mutual understanding—that's not so much. After all, there was a glimmer of hope on the eve of 1989: programming has expanded somewhat, a new list of staff members has been approved, and additional wages have been allocated. But no structural unit—a group or department—which would be specially engaged in Russian-language broadcasting, which would plan working with the audience for the future, and which would understand this audience, has been set up.

I would not like Russian-language broadcasting to suffer the sad fate of the television program, "Sobriety—the Norm of Life," which was foisted off on various editorial departments as a mandatory load. It wilted and became an object of ridicule even before the anti-alcohol campaign reached its culmination. No systematic and serious propaganda of a healthy way of life could be achieved, although considerable effort and means were expended. Any program will weaken and wither if one treats it like an unloved stepdaughter.

Almost every day we hear, "There is not enough objective information!" Correct programming in the Russian language, which does not deal with minor political brawls, could promote mutual understanding among the people, and a joint quest for just solutions to painful problems.

**FROM THE EDITOR:** We await your opinions and suggestions on the topics raised in Yakovlev's article.

### Latvians Disrupt Anniversary Festivities

**Pacifists Stage 'Unsanctioned' Procession**  
18010539 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
25 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by B. Sebyakin, LATINFORM correspondent:  
"Our Army, a People's Army"]

[Text] By tradition, it is not just the military who consider this their holiday. Actually, it is hard to find a family that is not connected in some way or other to the Soviet Armed Forces. Some have a son serving, in others the father was a soldier, and in still others the grandfather was in the war... Not to mention the many military dynasties in which the profession of defender of the motherland has become a legacy. Therefore, it is natural that the Soviet Army and Navy Day is celebrated widely.

On the morning of 23 February, a laying of wreaths and flowers at the Eternal Flame took place at Bratsk Cemetery in Riga.

Soldiers were formed up in strict alignment along the tree-lined lane. Funeral music was playing. Generals and officers—representatives of the staffs of the Red Banner Baltic Military District, the border district, and the Riga Naval Garrison—approach the Eternal Flame in mournful silence.

The anthems of the Soviet Union and the Latvian SSR are played, and an artillery salute is fired. Then Lt Gen F.M. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, and Lt Gen O.V. Zinchenko, military council member and chief of the district's political directorate, placed a wreath at the Eternal Flame. Representatives of the border guards and sailors also placed wreaths.

A.P. Klautsen, first secretary of the Riga Party Gorkom, and A.P. Rubiks, chairman of the Riga Gorispolkom, placed flowers at the Eternal Flame as a token of remembrance of Soviet soldiers who have died.

The military funeral ritual concludes with the solemn passing of the honor guard.

A number of other events dedicated to the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy also took place that same day. Flowers were placed at monuments to V.I. Lenin, Latvian Red riflemen, and liberator-soldiers, and also at fraternal graves of Soviet soldiers.

The commander of the military district and the chief of troops of the border district met at a hospital with soldiers who were wounded in Afghanistan.

With the brass of the trumpets sparkling and playing marches and army songs as they moved, the military bands and columns of soldiers passed along the central streets of the Latvian capital.

A reception was held at the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee, to which Komsomol activists of the Army, Navy, and Border Guards were invited.

On this day, passing along the streets, you could see for yourself that the slogan "The people and the Army are one" was not mere words for the majority of the residents of Riga. Here passers-by urge a picketer carrying a sign insulting the Soviet Army to come to his senses. Here an elderly woman says in a trembling voice that if someone dares defile the soldiers uniform, she would take it as an outrage on the memory of her husband who died in the war...

Under the slogan of unity of the Army and the people, a column of participants passed in the holiday procession organized by veterans of the Armed Forces and Interfront. There were hundreds of transparencies with the words: "Invincible and Legendary," "The Soviet Army

is our pride, Afghanistan is our pain," and "Shame and contempt for the instigators defiling the honor and dignity of the Soviet Army!" Having begun their journey from the monument to V.I. Lenin, the demonstrators went to Victory Square, where a large rally was held, with up 100,000 participants.

Despite the fact that it was festive, those who spoke talked not only about the Army, their attitude toward it, and the need to cherish the memory of fallen heroes and strengthen military-patriotic education. They raised problems of international relations, discussed the political situation in the republic, assessed the draft law on language, and sharply criticized manifestations of extremism and nationalism.

Meanwhile, several hundred young people under the flag of the pacifist movement took part in an unsanctioned procession at the center of the city. They were expressing their negative attitude toward service in the Soviet Army, which they consider an occupation army. Several dozen people at the Liberty Monument made the same accusations of participants in the mass demonstration taking place.

By tradition, at 2100 hours, multicolored fireworks lit up the skies over Daugava. The festivities concluded with a festive salute.

Measures dedicated to the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy also took place in Daugavpils, Liyepaya, Yurmala, and other cities of the republic.

**Nationalists Disrupt Official Commemoration**  
*18010539 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
*25 Feb 89 p 4*

[Editorial by A.Ye. Vasilenok: "A Double Standard: A SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA epilogue to a commentary by the 'Novosti' program on the festive procession and rally in Riga dedicated to the 71st Anniversary of the Soviet Army"]

[Text] The telephones at the editorial office have again been ringing off the hook. Those who took part in the rally are indignant at the assessments they heard on the television. Those who know about the rally only from what they heard from TV commentator A. Mirlin are perturbed by the examples he gave of the "demonstrators' aggressiveness." So, where is the truth? Perhaps, those who participated in laying the flowers and in the procession and rally did not notice something? Were the intentions of some of them really not peaceful, or are we again encountering the unhealthy infringement of perception that periodically affects the workers of Latvian television?

In order to obtain objective information, we turned to those who as part of their duty were maintaining public order that day. Here is what N. Goncharenko, deputy chief of the city Administration of Internal Affairs, had to say:

"Every year on 23 February, we see festive processions on the streets of Riga. This time, as you know, veterans of the war and labor, participants in Interfront, and all those who responded to their call to join the festive demonstration participated in it. We estimate there were about 100,000 people in all. The posters which the demonstrators carried were in support of the Soviet Army and the policy of perestroika, with appeals to strengthen friendship between the Latvian and Russian peoples. Some of the slogans expressed the people's attitude toward the draft law on languages and toward the elections of USSR people's deputies... There were no abusive attacks on the part of the demonstrators at all; they proceeded peacefully.

"Those who decided to use every means possible to disrupt the procession of columns and darken the procession of columns behaved themselves altogether differently. Back before the procession started, about 100-150 people organized a 'stop-action' in order not to let the 'army of occupiers' past the Liberty monument. Basically, these were members of informal associations who for a long time now have been picketing the buildings of the republic's Council of Ministers and headquarters of the Baltic Military District. They carried posters which were clearly provocative in nature: 'Liberators? No! Just soldiers who were rescued. If America and England had not given us products and the American patent on what we called the 'Katyusha,' the Russian nation would not exist.' 'There was a good reward for 'good' work in Latvia in 1940 and on 22 June 1941. In 1940, it was Siberian exile. In 1941, it was Salaspils, Rumbula. Each according to his deserts!' 'The Russian brigandage in the Afghanistan adventure suffered defeat. Ha! Ha! How do you put it, you wanted Riga, but got a fig!' (The style and spelling are the authors.)

"These people were in an extremely aggressive mood and shouted anti-Soviet slogans. Incidentally, that is when the incident occurred with the taxi that was traveling along Padome Boulevard from Krasny Baron, making a right turn on Lenin Street. Those who blocked traffic were trying to stop the vehicle and were hitting it. Two citizens taking part in the 'stop-action' were injured. This incident is being investigated. We do not believe the taxi driver violated any traffic laws.

"A GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] vehicle was sent to clear the roadway and the way past the monument. However, the crowd attacked it and began pushing it off the roadway. A certain L. Kruminya behaved most aggressively. We did not deem it advisable to use physical force to clear the way, since there were many elderly women in the crowd, which had already reached 1,000-1,200. Therefore, the column was directed along another

route, after forming a corridor from members of the militia. But those who did not want the people to participate in the demonstration found any crack in this human corridor to kick and push those going past. They tore a transparency from one of the veterans and struck him with the pole. The identity of the offender has been established. The military musicians had a particularly bad time. Insulting shouts and cursing were constantly heard from the crowd.

"However, the demonstrators did not give in to the provocation; what's more, they called upon the hooligans to change their mind and join the procession. The students of the Latvia State University 'distinguished themselves.' They willfully bound themselves to members of the voluntary public order 'squad' and impeded passage of the columns. They had to be taken by force beyond the cordon. Incidentally, the students of this educational institution have another 'distinguished' act to their credit: A. Ankraus, a second-year student in the chemical faculty, hung a black flag from out a dormitory window. An administrative report has been drawn up on him. For violations of rules for conducting rallies and processions, and also for identity verification, 24 people were turned over to the militia; the issue of administrative responsibility is being decided with respect to 5 of them."

Now you can judge for yourselves. In the TV commentator's interpretation, when some wave provocative transparencies around, this is a demonstration of the personal freedom; when others wave red banners, this is an uncivilized act. When some shout "down with the army of occupiers!", this is the free will of the people; when others scan toasts in honor of the Soviet Army, this is the savage roar of the crowd. Of the wide range of epithets that television has bestowed on the demonstration participants, we can subscribe to only one: This truly was a demonstration of strength. That is because the many thousands of people in the column did not respond to the insults with insults, to the blows with blows. This is evidence of the good will and strong unity of the people.

And the day before the procession and rally, the leadership of the informal associations announced over the same television station that their members would not take part in counter-demonstrations. If this is not hypocrisy, then they themselves need to find out who it was that was involved in the provocations. Otherwise, how can we believe leaders who do not enjoy authority in their own organizations and do not know what is going on behind their backs?

#### **Latvian Olympic Committee Is Formed**

**Latvian Olympic Committee's General Assembly**  
18080009 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
2 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by G. Keisels: "Latvian Olympic Committee's General Assembly"]

[Text] Yesterday, in the Political Education House, the first meeting of the Latvian Provisional Olympic Committee took place. The LOC Charter and Program were

adopted at the meeting. Elections took place. Daina Sveica, Uljana Semjonova, Aivars Fogels, and Ilmars Janovs were elected the vice-presidents. Aldonis Vrublevskis was elected the general secretary. Janis Kuzulis was elected the treasurer. B. Berklavs, D. Caune, O. Feldbergs, I. Forands, U. Gravitis, K. Greiskalns, J. Ilusis, J. Kisielis, V. Kleinbergs, I. Knets, J. Kupca, J. Kipurs, A. Prusis, and D. Zelmenis were elected in the executive committee. (J. Balduncik, O. Gangis, J. Krivans, P. Strubergs, V. Rubenis, and I. Urstins received a smaller number of votes during the closed voting). In accordance with the LOC Charter, the LOC president Vilnis Baltins became the executive commission's chairman.

At the meeting it was decided which commissions will continue to operate in order to assist the realization of of the LOC program. Chairmen of these commissions were also elected. The LOC budget was discussed and the revision commission was elected. It was decided to accept the RAF working collective's present to the LOC, namely, a minivan Latvija. The chairman of the LaSSR Committee for physical culture and sports D. Znatnajs participated in the meeting. He stated again that there will be a long and difficult road before the LOC is recognized by the USSR and the world. The latest news received from Moscow support this notion. Only one thing is left, that is, to work for recuperation of the Latvian sports and people in such a way that life itself would confirm the correctness of the LOC idea.

#### USSR NOC Rejects LOC

18080009 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in  
Latvian 6 Dec 88 p 3

[Excerpt from informative statement: "In the USSR National Olympic Committee"]

[Excerpt] On Saturday, the USSR National Olympic Committee's Plenum took place in Moscow. The Plenum adopted the following resolution: [passages omitted]

7. After hearing the statement of the USSR NOC member, chairman of the LaSSR Committee for sports and physical education D. Znatnajs concerning the proposal to form the Latvian Olympic Committee and the propaganda and organizational work being carried out for this purpose in the republic, the USSR NOC is of the following opinion:

a) organization of such a committee is in violation of the Olympic Charter requirements and Olympic movement practice; it does not advance the unity of the sports organizations of the Union republics and the strengthening of the united and, in its essence, indivisible structure of sports and Olympic movement established in the country; and it does not further the USSR NOC authority's growth in the international arena;

b) to charge the USSR NOC Presidium to develop additional measures for broadening the rights and responsibilities of the sports organizations of the Union republics. [passage omitted]

#### Latvian Member of the USSR NOC F. Cers Interviewed

18080009 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
6 Dec 88 p 3

[Untitled interview by G. Keisels with the Latvian member of the USSR NOC F. Cers; first paragraph is PADOMJU JAUNATNE introduction]

[Text] The USSR NOC member Felicians Cers participated in the USSR NOC Plenum's meeting. Yesterday, I asked him to answer several questions.

[Keisels] What is your opinion whether the NOC members understood the motives behind the mass movement for the renewal of the Latvian Olympic Committee's activities?

[Cers] At best, only few people understood it. But the general attitude was to reject it.

[Keisels] Why?

[Cers] Problems emerged, when, for example, we asked that Balderis would be recognized not only as the Soviet ice hockey player but also as a Latvian. This is a psychological barrier, which people cannot overcome.

[Keisels] Is there a hope that in the future this attitude could change?

[Cers] In the nearest future, no. However, certain articles of the resolution, which propose to create Olympic academies in the Union republics, call for hope. In his speech, the chairman of the USSR NOC Marat Gramov assessed the fact that the absolute majority of the Federations' presidents and members are from Moscow, as unacceptable one.

[Keisels] The resolution contains several articles proposing the decentralization of the sporting life. Are these articles connected with the LOC activities?

[Cers] In my opinion, yes. The standstill stone has been slightly moved. Maybe, it was too fast, but somebody finally is to start and the first counterattack is to be withstood.

[Keisels] What was the position of other republics' representatives?

[Cers] The representatives from Lithuania and Estonia supported us timidly, but the speakers from other republics only praised peoples' friendship. As if we would be against it.

[Keisels] Will not the formation of the LOC affect our sportsmen fighting for places on the USSR teams?

[Cers] In my opinion, no. Everybody knows that the LOC was not organized by active sportsmen, and nobody is going to reject a good athlete.

[Keisels] So, the mood is pessimistic.

[Cers] Today, it looks as something terrible has happened. But if one thinks about it, who could a year ago imagine that the red-white-red flag and the November 18th will be rehabilitated? So, I was sitting there and thinking that who knows what we will say about today's events after four years...

#### LOC Continues Its Activities

18080009 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
7 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Dainis Caune: "LOC Lives!"]

[Text] It happened exactly the way it has been predicted by PADOMJU JAUNATNE a month ago. The leaders of the USSR Committee for physical culture and sports have not received the renewal of the LOC with joyful cries "Good work, boys!"... Even more, the USSR NOC refused to receive the LOC delegation and, to the contrary, even organized at its plenum on 3 Dec 88 aggressive debates in the tradition of "the best years", which are described in details in the newspaper SOVETSKIY SPORT 4 Dec 88, yesterday's SPORT, and also in PADOMJU JAUNATNE.

But let us forgive people, who are mistaken and guided by lack of knowledge. None of our accusers have read the LOC Charter and Program, and the letter to the USSR NOC adopted at the first session of our committee. D. Znatnajs, the LaSSR Committee's chairman for physical culture and sports, managed to deliver these documents, almost in the style of OGONEK's editor-in-chief V. Korotich, to the presidium only during the plenum's meeting. Our minister of sports did a good job defending the LOC, thus proving that the interests of our public, which in a long run have determined this organization's formation, for him are higher than the wishes of his department. I should also add in connection with the reproaches directed at us that anyone who has followed the LOC renewal knows well that this process was not incited by either nationalism, or separatism; and it completely conforms to both the USSR and the LaSSR Constitutions, and the Olympic Charter (at least, to its 1985 edition).

So what has really happened? In essence, nothing special. Another step forward has been taken. And the department (the USSR State Committee for physical culture and sports and the NOC are closer than twin brothers), which up until now has eliminated and created sport clubs at its will, has given orders to start or to finish the development of a particular sport, was hiding behind the

myth of GTO ["Ready for Work and Defense"- a sports program for school and college students- a not a very healthy group of people], and was sinking into self-complacency thanks to the victory in the Olympic Games based on the *unofficial* team points count. This department, which is used to giving orders, has encountered a different position from a certain part of society and has completely instinctively said: "No!" A natural reaction based on the lack of understanding. Let it serve as a lesson to those, who think that perestroika is completely planned during one plenum or conference, and is completed in an instant, or, at least, within one year. Perestroika is the opposite of stagnation and, therefore, it is never-ceasing in its development and perpetual perseverance. I should stress that in spite of heated debates, the USSR NOC plenum has still adopted a resolution containing many significant points, which will definitely advance the democratization of the Soviet sports. And this is a real achievement.

The LOC continues to work. It has enough work in implementing its program (see Saturday's PADOMJU JAUNATNE) regardless of what the central authority has to say. Next Tuesday, the LOC executive committee will conduct its regular meeting, where the USSR NOC plenum's materials will be discussed, and based on them, it will develop its own opinion on the subject.

Only in fairy tales the third son starts and wins in the first stage act. LOC is life. And the LOC lives!

#### Controversy Over a Children's Magazine

18080039 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
2 Feb 89 p 4

[Text] In the past month our colleagues from the magazine ZILITE ["Little titmouse"] were drawn into a rather unusual whirl of battles. As this incident could provide readers of PADOMJU JAUNATNE (PJ) with material for reflection on the situation in our republic, we asked the chief editor of ZILITE magazine, DAINA OLINA, the artist ANITA KREITUSE, head of the illustration department, and the senior secretary, poet LAIMONIS VACZEMNIEKS, decorated cultural figure of the Latvian SSR, to interpret the incident.

[Olina] Suddenly and unexpectedly we wound up in the political battle arena. In a quite unusual one! Until now we have judged the effects of our achievement by the number of letters, but ZILITE's first issue of this year has been "haunted" by callers. (Related calls have reached even the offices of PJ, in the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee, which publishes our magazine.) Until this moment not one critical letter! Only phone calls, moreover, 90 percent of the callers do not consider it necessary to introduce themselves. Each conversation lasts around a half hour...The strangest thing is that these callers, judging from their voice, are past middle age, and

the majority of them speaks Russian or also Latvian, but with an accent. Moreover, already after the first conversations it became clear that they are proceeding according to a common scenario.

[Vaczemnieks] I was even asked, "Have many already called you?" Therefore the aim of the callers was to raise a fuss, themselves remaining anonymous.

[Olina] The main storming was aimed against Old Stender's [a figure of the nineteenth century literary awakening] "Picture Primer." Principally to reject attempts to connect the appearance of this material in our magazine, we are forced to dwell upon the history of this composition.

[Vaczemnieks] As the creator of the "Mr. Latvian Language" department, I am therefore the main guilty party.

[Olina] Not quite! When in May 1988 (I especially stress this date and remind you that then the famous Writer's Union plenum had not taken place, the People's Front and Interfront did not exist, and there were none of the various cultural associations, in other words, the life of stagnation, the norm for decades, flowed with a few restructuring elements in it) ZILITE was visiting grade 2B in Riga's 90th high school, among the other wonderful suggestions for the further development of the magazine, we also heard this one—to teach young readers the letters of the old print.

[Vaczemnieks] This task was assigned to "Mr. Latvian Language," which concerns itself with the culture of the language. One thing was clear: with only the printing of the old alphabet it will not be helped, because the one letter of today was then formed by three, even four, letters, which are easier learned in context. Thus we arrived at the 210-year-old "Picture Primer," which, I stress, in 1977 came out in a separate book as a memorial of the Latvian people's cultural history, and at that time did not provoke any debates. Knowing the circle of our readers, this version seemed especially intriguing. Until now we have mainly taught even today's alphabet with poetry primers.

We decided to slowly reach the "Picture Primer." And thus the September 1988 issue contained a story about *Buchstaben* (letters) (as the magazine takes three months to develop, it is no longer necessary to prove how old our idea is), in which a few of Old Stender's verses were cited. Children sent many letters with the explanation of the concept *Buchstaben*. As a prize for that in November we sent the primer itself to the printer.

[Kreituse] Now already the illustration of each year's issue of ZILITE is trusted to one artist. Both so that the magazine would be artistically more uniform, and so that the children would learn to distinguish the differences between various authors' "signatures." I invited Ivars Poikans to illustrate the January issue, because I wanted

to slightly shake up the up until now customary style of illustration that dominates children's publications. In my opinion, Old Stender's "rough" style would not fit with the signatures of traditional children's book illustrators. One must take into account that the age of our publication's readers is approximately from three to 13 years. For the younger ones, of course, nothing can be more fascinating than the sincere children and animals of Margarita Staraste. But it would be wrong to educate school-age children with only such artistic figures. Boys especially require something "sharper," more unusual. Besides, Ivars Poikans' drawings purely visually do not differ that much from the works of the children themselves. And the main thing—proper parents bring their children also to art shows, therefore they have long noticed differences in artists' perception of the world. The editors' article about the art of Ivars Poikans said the most essential thing. It is another thing whether all opponents were able to or wanted to read it to the end...

[Olina] Ivars Poikans' signature is unusual; not even all the magazine's staff members are enthusiastic about it. However, no one denies the artists' rights to his own, unique world view. When Ivars Poikans' (and those of others of his generation) works appeared in exhibitions, among the spectators there were many unsatisfied ones. But slowly exhibitions, as well as regular publications in the magazines LIESMA and AVOTS, became accustomed to the existence of such an unusual style. We are not really worried about the ZILITE's readers' circle, because the gauge of the unusual is quite different for children than for adults. However I will admit that I expected a few letters full of accusations from the parents' and especially—from the grandparents' generation. However the surprise was great and pleasant that such letters did not arrive. We even received a nice letter, a fragment of which I will cite:

"I want to thank you for the wonderful drawings in this year's January issue. Of course, as you, ZILITE, predicted, I heard also thus: 'What horrible pictures they have drawn for the children!' Not everyone has such an open soul that the image of art could enter, that it could understand that this art is the most real life... Maija Perfilova, in the Aluksne rayon's Ziemeri village, an old reader and mother of two readers."

Is it not so? In his cover illustration Ivars Poikans even reminds us that the same puppies that so happily frolic in the works of other "children's illustrators," actually suffer (as do we all) in an over-industrialized and polluted environment.

[Vaczemnieks] But let us now return to the complaints. I was most astonished that still now the old Latvian word "zids" (Jew) still causes confusion. Never in its existence has its content been negative, as is the case with a related word in the Russian language! It is found in all the Latvian classics, as well as in works meant for children. All Latvian children, even those that must be read to, get to know Janis Jaunsudrabin's "White Book." There this

old word is found quite often. We, the editorial staff, have children and grandchildren, therefore we know well that an elementary explanation is enough for them: it is an old word which persons of the Jewish nationality used to be called. Children judge it the same as other old words. And ZILITE is by no means the first to use this word in a children's publication.

Now that a Jewish Cultural Association has been founded, should exactly its activists not invite language specialists to once and for all clarify the meaning of this word and subsequently to ban any "cock-fights" if this old word appears in an ancient literary work or if it used when talking about the period until 1940. People of my generation know very well that at that time there was no Jewish Theater in Latvia...

The vital meaning of such explanation for the publication would be in press publications published in the Russian language.

[Kreituse] We are still able to convince a part of the opponents of the harmlessness of the words themselves in the long telephone conversations, but the depicted Jew is completely unacceptable to them. Can they really not see that all Ivars Poikans' characters are drawn according to the same legitimacy? If this figure had been created in an aesthetic manner would it not be much more ridiculous, would it then not raise much greater objections? Even the industrious Latvian folk-girl on the same page looks "horrible"... It is strange to hear the declaration: "Let them draw theirs how they want, ours—we will not allow!" Then it will turn out as in the adventures of the Ignorant One, where everyone enjoyed the Ignorant One's "paintings" only then, when they had not noticed their portraits. I resolve to declare that our readers think quite differently—here they see only a "funny man."

Of course, if I had expected that Ivars Poikans' grotesque style would so unsuccessfully harmonize with the currently heightened selfishness of certain peoples, to avoid misunderstandings I would have trusted him to illustrate another issue of ZILITE.

[Olina] But a few callers (Russian speakers, for the most part) are bothered also by the illustration on the third page. What kind of monster is that? An immigrant? A bureaucrat? As if on the next page it had not been clearly written that, in our opinion, this giant symbolizes the Evil of the World in its most varied expressions. (This is just another proof that this time the magazine is being analyzed not by readers, but only by spectators.) If now the bureaucrat could be served by his suit and tie, then why the club and missile? And even if it were a bureaucrat, can the heroes and fairies of folklore not expect the fiercest battle precisely with him in the future? And since when are bureaucrats of a certain nationality?

[Kreituse] Even more ridiculous are the queries about the hat. Could it not be Il'ya Muromietis with a Russian strong-man's hat? But maybe here the cupola of the

Orthodox church is meant? Here it will be proper to remind you that in Ivars Poikans' native Latgale there are exactly such church cupolas. In my opinion, the ridiculous blue cap of suit cloth truly fits such a person!

[Olina] Even stranger is the assertion that we are teaching children violence, that "the boy shoots with the catapult, but the girl even gathers the rocks." If one of the newly-acquired readers of ZILITE can show us a place where round, similarly-sized blue rocks can be found, we ask you to please bring us there. We hope that they will be sapphires. Our little heroes make do with blueberries... That is why we sound the call to sooner grow up, for right now our readers' efforts to stand against the Evil of the World would be pure childishness.

[Kreituse] To me, as an artist, such ridiculing of a work of art seems unnatural. In this way one can lose oneself in one's thoughts almost anywhere. But, obviously, exactly this chance to "get lost" recently tempts several persons. Passions have still not settled regarding the illustration in the magazine RODN'IK; and there is still discussion on what exactly has been drawn in the PIONIERS game. Now ZILITE too has been added to this group.

[Olina] That is why we enjoy the chance to express our views in PADOMJU JAUNATNE, because too visible is the "billy-goat's leg" which is squeezing through all of these incidents. When I saw Ivars Poikans' intended cover drawing, I thought to myself that this ZILITE issue will disappear from newsstands in an instant, as happens if the cover is colorful and lively. But no one from our editorial staff has seen this magazine at Riga's newsstands (except for at the Press Building). Therefore it was bought out immediately, if it even reached the stands. No, ZILITE's people are not that naive to believe that, independently from one another, this monster on the cover has been coveted by non-Latvian citizens of pension age for their dear grandchildren on a massive scale (as is maintained in telephone conversations).

As Kazimirs Dundurs, the director of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Publishing House, declared that, in spite of the difficulties of paper procurement, the circulation of ZILITE's first issue was 93,000 copies, we ask the "Press Association" employees and people working in newsstands to write ZILITE and tell us what unusual regularities led the dissemination of this issue! Did the newsstand receive the expected number of issues? Were they sold out quickly, or did they perhaps get lost on the "wholesale way"? Did you not notice anything unusual?

[Kreituse] By the way, this issue was not received by several subscribers as well. None of the two (!) ordered issues were ever delivered to my house...

[Olina] Why has the "heavy artillery" suddenly turned against the publications meant for children? In our opinion there is a single reason. Having experienced

failure on various fronts, or not having gained the desired support for their not very progressive efforts, citizens who have suffered a fiasco in political activity are trying to turn attention away from this failure, artificially focusing attention on something else. And where else is there such a wonderful opportunity to examine illustrations meant for the fantasy world of children than to evaluate the "rules of the game" known to children with the understanding of an adult!

And, if this evaluator is not able to read the text, if he is holding the respective press publication in his hands for only the first time, so much the better, because greater confusion can encourage him.

It is much easier to ask the leader of Interfront in the columns of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH how he values the magazine ZILITE, so that we would not have to ask about the many lies which were heard at the founding congress (for example, about the illegal money transfers, which the leaders forbade several times). It is easier to try to discredit the Latvian people, pointing with the finger to one ZILITE's illustration, than to try with all one's might to weld and create a united platform with one's brethren peoples.

But we are happy that on the last day among the callers there were also those (the majority has already lived in Latvia a long time) that said: "We already thought that Latvians and Jews have always lived in harmony. That all has been provoked by Interfront!"

We think exactly the same way. We are only surprised that the Jewish Cultural Association, which has gathered such a palpable spiritual potential, could not immediately distance itself from this provocation and give it an unequivocal condemnation. Was it really not clear that in the children's magazine there will never appear attempts to incite? That is absurd! Is it really not yet clear that the supporters of stagnations will have a peaceful existence only then if uncles and aunts of advanced years will leaf through children's magazines instead of turning their thought and work energy to the restructuring battle, instead of discussing significant complications in the life of the republic, which they are invited to do by almost every issue of PADOMJU JAUNATNE and other publications designed for adults. The main thing for these comrades is to create confusion and drag things on!

[Kreituse] It will be better if we will not delude ourselves with the thought: hey, if Ivars Poikans had not illustrated this issue, everything would have been fine. It is clear that after PIONIERS and ZILITE something else will be discovered, and this can go on for a long time, if we do not call things by their true names.

Only with a smile can we listen to the idea that in children's publications the publication of unaesthetic illustrations must be forbidden...so that misunderstandings and national discord would not result. Has anyone

completed the analysis that this issue is received by our little readers, who do not even think of looking for some kind of implications? We cannot create a magazine according to the feelings and world-view of adults!

[Olina] Once again causes are being mixed with consequences. Yes, let us say that Dzintra Aulmane would have brightly and happily illustrated the first issue; does anyone really hope that the children's negative emotions, which they built up experiencing the Interfront congress for two days with their parents, would have diminished? Not one poem about Interfront has been published in ZILITE, but in the schools even six-year-olds are reciting childish rhymes about this organization.

[Vaczemnieks] How can one simultaneously prepare the publication of the 1959 plenum materials and continue the ancient "hunt for bourgeois nationalists"? Be what may, but our magazine is far from any kind of nationalism. Recently in its pages recently the Russian Mikhail Zoshchenko and Azerbaijainian folklore, as well as the Lithuanian Sigets Geda and the Estonian Jans Kaplinskis have "coexisted." At the printing-house already there is a children's collection of works by Russian poets living in Riga and Mordovian lullabies. To completely liquidate the misunderstandings created by the first issue, Uldis Berzins has also promised us a rendering of ancient Hebrew folklore.

[Olina] One of the female callers pathetically exclaimed, "Now, when there is so much talk about the friendship of peoples!..." True, but is the situation not related to that, which was precisely characterized by Erich Koestner's famous Emil in a conversation with the Professor: "If at home there is little talk about money, then there is a lot of it." Are peoples' friendship and internationalism not yelled the loudest about by those, who have no greater joy than setting peoples at variance? Loud phrases are not necessary for ZILITE. Is this loudness and the rosy depiction of life in texts and illustrations not objected to the most sharply to us, the adults, by the young generation, remembering its youth?

For the time being, ZILITE's readers' feelings of national friendship are still quite natural and untouched (of that will easily be convinced each person who will ask pupils of the lower grades to correspond with a peer of any nationality). And if these feelings will later disappear in them, then there must be accused not our small magazine, but the big-wigs who look for politics there, where it is not and never will be.

P.S. We had already submitted this conversation to PADOMJU JAUNATNE, when colleagues showed us the article "Satisfaction Isn't Necessary." We were quite surprised that among the "thousands of calls, letters, etc." there had been also some written by Latvians. Since for some incomprehensible reason they have not arrived at the

paper, we will be grateful to their owners if they will submit their letters to the addressee. It would be important to clarify the thoughts of our readers (and their loved ones) on the first issue.

#### **Resolutions of Lithuanian Journalists' Congress Published**

18000860 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA  
PRAVDa in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Report: "Resolutions of the 8th (Extraordinary) Congress of the Lithuanian SSR Journalists' Society"]

#### **[Text] GENERAL RESOLUTION**

The 8th Extraordinary Congress of the Lithuanian SSR Journalists' Society has adopted the Regulations of the Journalists' Society of Lithuania, and has re-established the Journalists' Society which has been operating in the Lithuanian Republic.

The Congress condemns the annexionist pact between the USSR and Germany of 1939-1940, which violates the elementary norms of international law; and the secret protocols, as well as the convergence of Fascism and Stalinism both in the area of foreign policy and in the ideological realm. The future Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR must legitimize the political, economic and cultural sovereignty of Lithuania which was destroyed by force in 1940, and also establish the conditions for Lithuania's existence in a union of equal republics. Through our creative and civic activity we shall strive to achieve national and social renewal, as well as the unanimity of all the people who dwell in Lithuania.

Through the mass information media we are calling for continuing to speak out for democracy, glasnost and diverse opinions. The Congress calls upon the journalists of Lithuania to write about the crimes and aberrations of the times of Stalinism and stagnation, to help the public clearly see their dimensions and causes, and to perpetuate the memory of the innocent people who suffered. The Congress speaks out against the Stalinist model of socialism. In our works we must foster social justice, and speak out for the elimination of privileges. We certify that the mafia must become an especially important object of attention for the mass information media. To that end, we call upon the public in the republic to combine their efforts.

The Congress calls for continuing the struggle with those who are causing damage to the earth, water and air of Lithuania; and with the departments and enterprises which ignore the legitimate demands of the citizens of Lithuania to protect the republic's environment.

Together with teachers in the republic we shall strive to put into effect the concept of a national school; and we stand for the opportunity of all citizens in the republic,

regardless of their views, creed or other differences, to actively become involved in social life and perestroika, in the name of our restored Motherland—Lithuania.

#### **SOVEREIGNTY OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE JOURNALISTS' SOCIETY**

The Congress of the Journalists' Society supports the purposes of the Lithuanian CP and the republic government: the possibility of independently resolving all problems in political, economic, social and cultural life; realization of the Lithuanian people's right to self-determination and preserving the originality of the nation; and the freedom to maintain ties with other Soviet republics and foreign countries. To achieve these ends, we call for utilizing all our creative energy, the passion of our hearts, and our strength of mind.

#### **ON RELATIONS WITH THE USSR JOURNALISTS' SOCIETY**

The 8th Extraordinary Congress of the Lithuanian SSR Journalists' Society authorizes the newly-elected board of the Lithuanian Journalists' Society to regulate relationships with the USSR Journalists' Society in the form of an agreement, while observing the regulations of the Lithuanian Journalists' Society.

#### **ON THE RIGHT TO KNOWLEDGE**

The Lithuanian Journalists' Congress supports the proposal to amend the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR with the following clause:

"Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR shall enjoy the right to receive accurate, objective and timely [operativnaya] information."

#### **ON DISINFORMATION**

We have serious concerns over the fact that recently the central press, and television and radio broadcasts have given a one-sided and uncritical account of the processes of perestroika taking place in Lithuania—which are in keeping with the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. We, the delegates to the extraordinary Congress of the Journalists' Society of Lithuania, protest the disinformation which groundlessly inflames international discord and disagreement among the nations. We stand for honesty and integrity for journalists, and for objective analysis of the events now taking place.

#### **ON CENSORSHIP**

The 8th Extraordinary Congress of the Lithuanian SSR Journalists' Society:

—protests the fact that in our time of glasnost, information is limited as before; and as before, new bans on receiving foreign press publications and use of them are in effect or are appearing;

- expresses its concern over the fact that the right of journalists to receive information at institutions and organizations continues to be interpreted very freely;
- believes that new censorship limitations on certain topics are a serious signal of the fact that the enemies of perestroika, democratization and glasnost are finding new allies at the highest levels of government;
- considers plans to make censorship a paid service a misunderstanding;
- appeals to the Lithuanian CP Central Committee with a proposal, not to wait until laws on the press or other state documents are adopted at the highest level, but to take the necessary measures against those contemplating these phenomena. Journalists of Lithuania would welcome this as an invigorating manifestation of the party leadership's support of the press.

#### ON THE IGNALINA ATOMIC POWER STATION

The ecological, production, social and spiritual situation at the complex of the Ignalina AES [Atomic Power Station] is cause for special concern to the public of Lithuania. It must produce the proper response in the consciousness of all Lithuania, to include the officials at the Ignalina AES. The Extraordinary Congress of the Journalists of Lithuania enjoins its new board and its chairman to ensure that the problems of the Ignalina AES, as an object of special significance, be considered exceptionally important; one which requires the constant attention of our creative society, and specific, decisive actions on the part of the government.

#### ON LANGUAGE

The 8th Extraordinary Congress of the Journalists' Society of Lithuania appeals to all journalists:

1. Our duty is to write in the proper and eloquent Lithuanian language. The standard of language is a mandatory professional requirement for a journalist. We shall constantly replenish our knowledge and skills; we shall not be inhibited from frequently appealing to specialists. It is not shameful to constantly improve one's own language—it is shameful not to know one's native language completely.
2. We shall strive to ensure in every way that respect for the state Lithuanian language prevails in our editorial staffs, and the desire to know it well. Journalists who write in other languages could display their international understanding here.
3. We have not done everything to help our readers and listeners to sense the possibilities of the Lithuanian language and to use it: we shall protect it from inordinate

borrowings and barbarisms. Unfortunate borrowings are often encountered in specialized editions. They are quite often considered inevitable in professional language. But let us start with ourselves.

For noble thoughts—let there be pure language!

#### Writers Score Opponents of Lithuanian State Language

18000732 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by A Bernotas, Yu. Glinskis, E. Ignatavichus, I. Yushkaytis, R. Lankauskas, S. Shalyanis, writers: "When Will We Be the Masters in Our Own House?"]

[Text] Imagine such a situation: having left your own home, one fine day you go into someone else's, you make yourself comfortable here and this person offers you work and shelter and better conditions than you had. For some time, perhaps not very long, the host communicates with you not in his native language, but in yours, inasmuch as you do not know his language. It is true that it must be emphasized here that, prior to this, the host had to learn your language in order to speak with you. Thus, he has demonstrated good will and expects the same from you. But, alas, in vain... Instead of also demonstrating good will, you have no intention of studying his language. Then the host gets fed up with this abnormal situation, which offends his human dignity and he demands that you learn (at least a little bit, as much as your capabilities allow) his language. And then the greatest resentment emerges and various complaints and accusations and so on appear. How would an impartial observer explain the behavior of the indignant person? Undoubtedly, as a lack of elementary tact and culture and obvious impudence, which is not worth putting up with.

Did not this very thing occur when, after the Ukase of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "On the Use of the Lithuanian SSR State Language" was promulgated, the Lithuanian language finally (!), after long years of constantly being ignored and pushed out of public life, became the state language? So much irritation and even open anger did this cause among certain chauvinistically minded persons and groups and so many totally unfounded scandalous attacks against the ukase! Just think! Now the Lithuanian language is the State Language, and nowhere else but in Lithuania and this is almost the end of the world! And we could not even get by without stormy protest meetings. The press informed us about them. In the photos, there are sullen, morose faces and the only thing missing are menacing fists... Cited in the press are the arrogant and frequently ultra-demagogic statements of infuriated speakers. It is not enough that anyone attempting to express his own disapproval or to explain something is immediately made to shut his mouth. However, it is necessary to be indignant not at the organizers

of such intolerable attacks, but rather, at us, each conscientious person, and not the Lithuanian who has lost his self-respect and whom they want to deprive of the right to have in his own land a Lithuanian state language. It would be absurd to discuss this question. Discussions about this at the end of the 20th Century are not held in a single civilized country. For example, in the FRG, no one intends to discuss if one should speak and write to Germans in Turkish, just because people who have come from Turkey have decided to work in the FRG and live well. It is precisely these people who study the language of this region and do not make any complaints while living in a foreign country. There are no such discussions being conducted even in neighboring Poland, even though there are quite a few representatives of other nationalities here. In Georgia, the state language is also Georgian and no one argues about this and is outraged. Since olden times, Jews, Tatars and Karaites have lived in Lithuania, but they have never tried to organize attacks against the Lithuanian language. Finally, if the Lithuanian language is so unbearable for them, why do they not seek work in Russia? There they would have a splendid opportunity to speak in their native language and would not have to be outraged. The dilapidated villages of immense Russia await and they will not be expecting their own countrymen. Are they really such poor patriots or does this not bother them at all?

It is necessary to add in this connection that we are astonished by the attitude of the republic's leadership to the cited attacks. Now there are quite a few various meetings and, frequently, when these meetings seem to be intolerable to the authorities, stern warnings are heard very quickly... But why are they silent about the actions against the ukase adopted by the Supreme Soviet Presidium about giving the Lithuanian language the status of a state language in Lithuania? Yes, the Lithuanian language—in Lithuania. Why do they refrain from emphasizing that the ukase is the law, which must be respected? It is time we feel ourselves the masters and demand, whether this pleases anyone or not, that everyone, without exception, observe this law, which ensures the rights of the Lithuanian language, and strictly monitor its implementation. When will we hear a disciplining word? Not to react and to delay would mean only to justify the further neglect of the Lithuanian language and its debasement.

### **Yedinstvo 12 Feb Meeting Viewed**

#### **Media Bias in Coverage Alleged**

18000730 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
15 Feb 89 p 3

[Letter to editor from labor veteran A.Dyatkovskaya: "After the Rally" under the "Letter to Editors" rubric; first paragraph a boldface introduction]

[Text] All day yesterday the SOVETSKAYA LITVA editorial office was getting a flood of questions about the press and television coverage of the rally held by the

socialist movement for perestroika in Lithuania Yedinstvo-Venibe-Yednost. We publish one of those letters here.

As a participant of the rally held by the socialist movement for perestroika last Sunday, I can not remain indifferent to the way it was covered by the republic's media. In my opinion, the rally had approximately 100,000 participants. They came out to express their feelings and thoughts and to hear what others think of events occurring in Lithuania. They came out because they cared about tomorrow.

I saw that people were happy with how the gathering turned out, because it was interesting and well-organized; people spoke in Russian, Lithuanian and Polish. State flags of the USSR and the LiSSR flew above the participants' heads.

Many noted that everybody behaved very well at the rally, even though some heated speeches and controversial statements were made.

Yet, unfortunately, the methods of reporters for the press, television and radio can not be called objective. The television show "Panorama" presented no objective information about the rally. Instead, the television crew filmed an alleged participant, a middle-aged woman of rather strange appearance; they paid too much attention to her, making her the protagonist of the report on the Yedinstvo rally.

As to the radio broadcast devoted to that event aired on Monday, a well-recorded dog baying could be distinctly heard on it for a time.

I realize that not everybody in the republic supports Yedinstvo and the rally in the square in front of the Sports Palace was not universally liked. But are distortions, concealment of facts and outright insults the kind of methods that will help us solve our problems?

In my opinion, even the ELTA [Lithuanian news agency] report on the February 12 rally, titled "Rally for Language", was not objective.

The report did not mention the main issues raised at the rally. And even the issues ELTA did mention were presented one-sidedly. For instance, the complaint heard at the rally that the republic has no professional schools and colleges for Russian and Polish students to study in their native tongue was countered by the reporter with a statement that the decree on language guarantees the creation of preschool facilities and general schools.

In this respect I would like to suggest—and I am convinced that many people will join me—that the entire rally, from start to finish, were broadcast on television. Let the speeches that tens of thousands of people have heard be shown on television. This will be the most objective and truthful coverage.

### **Yedinstvo Fears 'Unfounded'**

18000730 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
25 Feb 89 p 4

[Open Letter by Academicians Jonas Lankutis, Leonar-das Kayryukshtis, Alfonsas Merkis, Vitautas Statulyav-ichyus and Yurgis Vilenmas; Vitautas Merkis, Corres-pondent Member of the Academy, and Vitautas Ambrazas, Aleksandras Vanagas and Albertas Zalator-yus, Ph.D.'s in Philology: "Is There Cause for Alarm?"]

[Text] At the February 12 Yedinstvo rally a placard was raised which read: "Today They Do Not Let Us Speak, Tomorrow Teach Our Children, Day After Tomorrow Breathe!" What does this catchphrase mean translated into plain language? Apparently, it means that today the Lithuanian government forbids foreign-speaking people, i.e. Russians, Poles and others, to speak their native tongue, then it will take away their schools, and finally it will deprive them of the right to live in Lithuania. Where, in which document, has this been stated? It is enough to read the decree of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium on the use of the LiSSR state language to see that it puts things quite differently. At the outset it declares that the development and use of the Lithuanian language will be promoted "without violating the constitu-tional right of the foreign-speaking population to use their native tongue." While the decree's aim is to address the use of the Lithuanian language, the rights of other languages are mentioned in almost every part of it. Part 8 stresses the fact that conditions will be created for the foreign-speaking population of the republic "to set up preschool facilities, courses and general schools, prepare teachers, publish books and newspapers in their native language and organize language and cultural societies, clubs, museums, theaters and performance troupes." Heads of official organizations have been instructed to make sure that residents who do not speak Lithuanian get service "in a language acceptable to both sides." The state promises to "create necessary conditions for cul-tural development in other languages used in the repub-lic," etc. So, what is the worth of all those slogans about violation of constitutional rights?

It is hard to believe that the rally's participants had not read the decree. Clearly, the reason is different. What offends them is not the alleged persecution of other tongues but the end of discrimination against the Lithua-nian language. They are outraged that Lithuanian is once again the state language of Lithuania, that official busi-ness will be conducted in Lithuanian and that heads of enterprises and agencies will have know Lithuanian enough to be able to discuss official business with their subordinates and clients and to read or issue required documents. Supporters of centralized management rightly foresee that when the Lithuanian language takes hold in the life of the republic it will be hard for them to feel that they are all-powerful masters, issue orders and impose their will on workers. This is why they are trying to split residents of different nationalities. For this reason, they are even willing to present themselves as

defenders of the rights of Poles living in Lithuania, as if everyone were blind and could not compare conditions for the development of the Polish minority's language and culture created in Lithuania to those existing in the neighboring republic. Or maybe their goal is even more far-reaching: to stir up things and cloud people's minds in the hope of making them long for the good old order.

It is not our purpose to argue with those who spread dangerous rumors. Yet, we want to say to honest workers of Russian, Polish and other nationalities, some of whom may have believed the lies spread by Yedinstvo, that their fears are unfounded. Nobody has demanded or will ever demand that everyone employed in consumer ser-vices or internal affairs suddenly began to speak perfect Lithuanian. To communicate with clients you do not need an extensive vocabulary or complex syntax: all you need is good intentions and several standard sentences. Do we have to argue about the fact that every elderly lady in Lithuania should be able in her native land to call medical help in her native language, or to get her laundry done? Naturally, we must urgently create proper condi-tions for everyone who wants to learn Lithuanian. This was also mentioned in the decree, and a special resolu-tion to that effect has been passed by the LiSSR Council of Ministers. True, up until now there has been a shortage of textbooks, business dictionaries and courses for intensive study of Lithuanian, but there has been little demand for them.

Currently, we are working to eliminate this shortage, to increase the teaching of Lithuanian at schools in which foreign-language students are enrolled and to organize language study centers and consulting services. There is plenty of issues to think about here and plenty of subjects to discuss. We invite residents of different nationalities to join us in this common cause.

### **Academician Condemns 'Narrow' Use Of Azeri** 18310021b

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 17 January 1989 carries on page 4 a 1200 word article by Academician M. Shiraliyev headlined "They are not indif-ferent to fate" on current work in the development of the official use of Azeri. Pointing out that the use of the written language is "narrow", he adds that Azeri is used rarely in administrations and offices. "As an example, I would note that in institutes of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences (with the exception of the institutes of literature and linguistics) office work and scientific work is not conducted in the mother tongue. Not one of the articles in the institutes' 'scientific news' is written in the native language. In this 'news' no more than 3 or 4 lines of Azeri are used in annotation form." He also comments on the "unsatisfactory" nature of translation work. He recom-mends that linguists who were victims of the 1930s be fully rehabilitated and their works republished.

### **Hospital Bed Shortage Related To Mortality Rate** 18310021i

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 25 January 1989 carries on page 3 a 1500 word article by Fazil Aghayev, head of the Department of Social Hygiene and Health at the Advanced Physicians' Institute of the AzSSR Ministry of Health, in which he discusses shortcomings in health facilities as one of the causes behind the high infant mortality rate. He points out that "if hospital construction continues at the present rate, we will not be able to eliminate the bed shortage for a long time if at all. The situation in ambulatory treatment polyclinics is worse." He adds: "There is another problem. Locating health centers without considering the demands and needs of the republic population and the unequal distribution of medical workers between these health centers is also very disturbing." He claims that "in rural areas physiotherapists, pediatricians and dentists are the nucleus of medical services. Under present conditions this is incorrect. There is no need to prove that the foundations for health are in the mother's womb. Women should be under medical supervision right up to the point of giving birth." He notes that other factors, such as rapid population growth in rural areas, are also straining medical services. Also, "ecological, drinking water and nutritional, as well as housing and material considerations, are doing much harm to successful health work."

### **Roundtable on Georgian-Azerbaijani Problems Held**

#### **Report of Georgian Participant at 1987 Baku Meeting**

18130018a Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian 12 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Germane Patsatsia, senior scientific associate in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute and the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute: "Restructured Morality?" Passages in boldface as published]

[Text] The glasnost and democratization that are firmly under way in our reality have added a great deal of variety to life. Many an interesting article has been printed in the republic press (LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO, AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI...) devoted to questions of inter-ethnic relations. Such articles remind me of something that happened in the not-too-distant past.

On 23 and 24 September of last year, a round table was held in Baku devoted to problems of moral upbringing. The event was held under the auspices of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the host Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute. I was the only participant in that forum from

Georgia. The theme of my paper dealt with questions of moral development in a time of glasnost and democratization. One newspaper article cannot accommodate every detail of the conflict that befell me, but so that readers will understand what impelled my Azerbaijani colleagues to all but brand me an enemy of people's friendship, I will quote word for word that section of my paper which dealt with the moral aspect of inter-ethnic relations based on the example of Azerbaijan and Georgia:

**...One of the main moral tasks of our time is to ensure the preservation and development of the cultural polyphony of all nationalities and peoples. It is the various voices of national cultures which create the socially and morally significant, inimitable and unique polyphony.**

As a rule, guests do not criticize their hosts, but respect and love for our close neighbors, conditions of glasnost, and a desire not to betray the ancient principle of "Tell your friend to his face, your enemy to his back" compel me to express a few thoughts concerning inter-ethnic relations and dialog.

As we know, the nationality of the citizens in Azerbaijan SSR's Kakhi, Belakani, and Zakatali rayons is determined essentially not by origin, native language, or national consciousness but by religious affiliation. For example, Georgians of the Moslem faith in the villages of Aliabad and Mosul (Zakatali Rayon) are listed as Azerbaijani on their passports, and all of them have been artificially given Azerbaijani surnames, even though every one of them knows his real Georgian surname and all of them are united by the Georgian language. In a similar situation are the Dagestanians (Avars and Tsakhurs) who presently constitute 60 percent of the population of the three rayons. Every one of them is listed as an Azerbaijani on his passport. Only recently, as a result of their own active efforts, has a certain portion of them regained their true nationality. Neither for them nor for the Georgians is there even a single sector in their native language in the technicums and vocational schools of those Azerbaijan rayons.

In Kakhi Rayon, where Georgians make up a total of at least 30 percent of the population, not a single Georgian occupies a post of leadership (except for the raykom third secretary and the chairmen of three Georgian kolkhozes and two Georgian sovkhozes), although there are many other enterprises and establishments in the rayon.

Almost 100 percent of the Georgians in that rayon who get a higher or secondary specialized education in Georgia are forced either to remain in Georgia or else go to some other republic, because they cannot get a job in their home rayon.

In the Moslem Georgian villages of Aliabad, Mosul, and Ititala there is not a single Georgian-language kindergarten.

Unlike in many other republics, Greek schoolchildren in Georgia can study the Greek language as a subject. It has been some years now since the republic's leaders undertook special measures to train teachers for this subject.

There is not a single Azerbaijani or Armenian village in Georgia that does not have its own national school, to say nothing of Russian villages; yet in the villages of Dzegam and Tasmalo (Kakhi Rayon) the Georgian schools were closed for good in the 1960s.

From 1953 to 1956 the Georgian schools were closed in all the Moslem Georgian villages of Kakhi, Belakani, and Zakatali rayons; in 1959 and 1960, they were reopened as a result of the Georgian population's active efforts and delegations to Moscow.

Azerbaijani schools in Georgia are freely sponsored by various institutions in Azerbaijan, while the situation of Georgian villages under Azerbaijan's jurisdiction is in a deplorable state in this regard.

The Georgian school in Baku was closed long ago.

In 1980, the only Georgian boarding school in Zakatali Rayon, which served all the Georgian population in the three rayons, was closed at the direct initiative of Comrade G. A. Aliyev, who was then the First Secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and a non-voting member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and is now the First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

Georgia's Ganatleba Publishing House prints textbooks in Azerbaijani and Armenian every year for Georgia's Azerbaijani and Armenian schools. But oh, the trouble it takes to get Georgian textbooks printed by the same publishing house to Azerbaijan's Georgian schools!

Tbilisi's Pushkin State Pedagogical Institute has functioning Azerbaijani Language and Literature and Armenian Language and Literature departments. In Georgia, PRAVDA-sized Azerbaijani and Armenian newspapers are published, and Azerbaijanis and Armenians work as raykom first secretaries, ministers, and state committee chairmen....

We might not have said anything today about these and many other facts, if we had not been aware of a particular desire of our Azerbaijani colleagues: Our Azerbaijani colleagues are proposing to their Armenian and Georgian colleagues that they take part in the writing of a collective monograph titled "The CPSU's Efforts in the Sphere of the Moral Upbringing of the Working People (On the Example of the Effort of the Communist Parties of the Transcaucasian Republics)."

It seems to us that carrying out such a project takes time; any undue haste can only be morally harmful and will in no way promote the establishment of highly moral and

political values. A certain amount of time must pass, the results of perestroika must become more apparent. What do we have that we can generalize at present? It seems to us, therefore, that to write such a monograph at this stage is not appropriate in either political, nationality, or moral terms. In addition, we need to take account of the specific characteristics of our republics. If our Azerbaijani colleagues think that your republic and our republic were waging an active struggle from the early 1970s against negative phenomena in public life, they are right. But a certain additional precision is necessary here: the fact is that in both your republic and ours a struggle was being waged all right, but only against negative manifestations, negative phenomena, rather than against the essential root causes of those phenomena. It is no secret, therefore, that the struggle yielded no appreciable results. What we want to say, in short, is that there was no all-union context at that time. Under such conditions, if we do undertake to write such a monograph it should essentially be written on the basis of a generalization of examples of immorality, and it is doubtful that this will do morality any good. I was a reviewer of your draft project, and you know about that. I conveyed my opinion to Professor M. P. Mchedlov, who is the deputy director of our CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute, when he was in Tbilisi. He shared my opinion.

If, after all the foregoing, our Azerbaijani colleagues still wish to undertake a generalization of their own moral experience, that is of course their prerogative.

More than a year has passed since then. During that time, the truth of my opinions concerning our Azerbaijani colleagues' proposed collective monograph has been confirmed more than once.

After I returned from Baku, a department head from the newspaper SOVET GYURDZHUSTANY visited me in my office and asked me for the text of my paper in Baku so that it could be published in Georgia's Azerbaijani newspaper. Of course I gave it to him, although I told him in no uncertain terms that if they printed it at all they must print it unchanged! The material was published in SOVET GYURDZHUSTANY...in the 4 June 1988 edition. The section I cited above was omitted entirely!

...Recently I received from Baku a copy, printed in Russian, of the proceedings of that conference, which included the text of my paper. The same section that I quoted above was also entirely omitted. The title of the collection is "Perestroika and Morality." But can a morality that has been so restructured be helped by perestroika?!

### Georgian Grievances Against Azerbaijan Discussed

18130018 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO  
in Georgian No 45, 4 Nov 88 pp 5-6

[Article by Manana Gigineishvili, Guram Gegeshidze, and Vakhtang Rodonaia: "Boundary"]

[Text] Today's glasnost has shown graphically that it is not realistic to consider inter-ethnic relations to be completely settled or to paint them in pretty colors. In the new situation, many new concerns have risen to confront Georgia. In the course of time, many unresolved problems that accumulated from the beginning have made themselves acutely felt.

The situation as it has developed today needs to be looked at squarely and a solution found.

Any initiative is to be welcomed if it grows out of a reasonable endeavor toward noble ends, but often it has its own character and only seems to be concerned for common interests.

Unfortunately, this was the mood that came over us when we read the article "Azerbaijan's Initiative" in the 17 September issue of IZVESTIYA, written by R. Talyshinskiy.

Since this undertaking by Azerbaijan touches directly upon the vital interests of Georgia, we will here summarize the gist of it: the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet's Commission for Inter-ethnic Relations and Internationalist Upbringing (chaired by A. Dashdamirov, corresponding member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences) sent a draft proposal on cooperation to the corresponding commissions of the Supreme Soviets of Georgia and Armenia.

The newspaper informs us that this is the first time since the Transcaucasian Federation that a legal foundation has been established to deal with the economic and cultural problems of national minorities and ensure their political, social, and individual rights.

IZVESTIYA quotes A. Dashdamirov as follows: "The Commission has examined the living conditions of the Lezgians, Avars, Georgians, Ingilos [sic], Armenians, Meskhetian Turks, and representatives of other nationalities."

More than a month has gone by since the Central newspaper published the "Azerbaijan Initiative." Not a thing has been said about it in the Georgian press or in public. Azerbaijan, on the other hand, seems to act with admirable efficiency. It is significant to note that the 17 September edition of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, which is the organ of the Azerbaijan SSR Central Committee, Supreme Soviet, and Council of Ministers, devoted a whole page to an account of that meeting and spelled out the aim of the Commission in some detail.

It seems the speakers focused particularly on how the Azerbaijanis take care of their ethnic minorities.

The Azerbaijani "initiators" have this to say in IZVESTIYA: "We have initiated this endeavor, but for it to succeed will require the cooperation of deputies of the three republics. In this case, after all, we have common interests—improving the living conditions of our peoples and regions."

The phrase "our peoples and regions"—what does that mean? It should be, "our peoples in regions of neighboring republics."

It is natural for neighboring republics to have common interests and common concerns, but what are we supposed to have in common with this Azerbaijan Initiative if it separates Ingilos and Georgians?

That the comma between the Georgians and the Ingilos in A. Dashdamirov's list of nationalities is not a typographical error is confirmed by BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY. It mentions the Ingilos several times, but it says nothing about them being Georgian. At the same time, our Azerbaijani friends have not forgotten to refer to the Meskhetians by the term "Meskhetian Turks" that has gained currency recently.

We must state categorically that if Azerbaijan really wants a dialog with Georgia concerning inter-ethnic relations, it should first officially acknowledge that the Ingilos are Georgians and stop falsifying their ethnogenesis.

According to the Azerbaijani Commission, it is essential to step up scientific research in the sphere of history, archeology, ethnography, and sociology. Every effort must be made to oppose nationalism, chauvinism, and restrictions on other nations' history, culture, traditions, and customs.

All well and good.

That, however, is something for Georgians to talk and think about. How are we to take this statement of theirs? Isn't it more likely that their earlier "scientific" methods will be stepped up?

First of all, back in 1979 Molla Zade published a falsified book titled "The Toponymics of Azerbaijan's Northern Rayons," in which the placenames of the Ingilo Country were claimed to derive from Turkish. In 1987, Gara Akhmedov published in ELM VE HEAT1 an article in which he claimed that the speech of the Ingilos is an independent, non-Georgian language. (Incidentally, IZVESTIYA reports that the Azerbaijanis have decided to provide village libraries with Russian, Georgian, Armenian, and Lezgian books. But what about the Ingilos? If their language isn't Georgian, why aren't the libraries being supplied with books in Ingilo?)

In his book titled "Azerbaijan's Toponymics," A. Geybulayev presents bankrupt and far-fetched arguments to claim that the Ingilos are the descendants of a tribe of Persians living in Caucasia, the Gels (moreover, the fact that IZVESTIYA uses the term "Ingeloytsy" is also not a typographical error); Azerbaijani historians claim that the Georgian monuments left in the Ingilo Country are of Albanian origin. The Azerbaijani scientists' tendentiousness goes so far that they claim the Ingilos are Azerbaijanis who were Christianized as a result of Georgian invasions.

All of this is printed in publications of the Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences.

That, in brief, is an incomplete picture of such falsified scientific works about the Ingilos.

The Azerbaijanis are also taking practical steps to foster the Ingilos' degeneration. One example of the Azerbaijanis' "solution" to the national question is worth examining: we have in our possession a document, issued on 24 December 1969, whose letterhead reads "Kakhi-Gruzinskiy Selsovet." A document issued two years later, on 12 November 1971, reads as follows: "Kakh-Ingiloytskiy Selsovet." Hence, the word "Georgian" has disappeared from the place name. It has been like that ever since.

In their speeches, moreover, responsible Azerbaijani officials describe things as if the ethnic minorities in their republic enjoy equal rights with the native population, are actively engaged in social life, and that Azerbaijan has solved the problem of ethnic minorities.

We will not be satisfied just with an improvement in the Ingilos' conditions. What we want is an end to their oppression and degradation!

How can we be on an equal footing and have common interests, when Georgian students are not permitted to do restoration work on the Christian monuments of Kakhetia-Hereti? In all the history of the Soviet Union, not until this year, last summer, was a Georgian students' construction group officially permitted to go to the Ingilo Country—but the kind of reception they got there, and the conditions under which our students were kept, is described by some fourth-year students of Tbilisi University's History Faculty in the 7 October edition of LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO: "We were not permitted to leave a restricted area without the permission of the local authorities....They showed us everything except historical monuments. Later we learned that the Baku students had been instructed not to let anyone take us to our cultural monuments....Our hosts did everything they could to prevent us from having any free time or meeting the local populace. At night, our hotel was guarded by militia men...."

It is by no means news that Georgians entering the Ingilo Country have been searched—without authorization from the Procuracy—lest they bring Georgian books in to the Ingilos! Again, let's hear what the students have to say: "The eight-year Georgian school in Kotoklo has just one copy of "Knight in the Panther's Skin," let alone any books by Vazha, Akaki, Ilia, Sul Khan-Saba, or other Georgian classics. You never see a map of Georgia anywhere."

After a lot of trouble, movie director Niko Tsuladze managed to make a documentary about the deplorable situation in the Ingilo Country, titled "Boundary." For some strange reason, this film—which was made eight years ago—was never seen by Georgian viewers until recently. The very title of the film is food for thought. We ought to think about the foregoing and also about the fact that the boundary between the Georgians and the Ingilos is an artificial one, a forced one. There should be a boundary/limit both to the Ingilos' waiting and the Georgians' patience.

As proof of their internationalist spirit and brotherhood, the Azerbaijanis inform us in the pages of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY that 26 Ingilos have been enrolled in VUZes, outside of competition. Sure, but that portends their Azerbaijanization outside of competition! In what language will they get their higher education in Azerbaijan? Yet an Ingilo trained in one of Georgia's Georgian VUZes can't get a job in the Ingilo Country.

In view of the foregoing, attempts by the Azerbaijan Commission "for Internationalist Upbringing" to claim that the ethnic minorities question is solved are in vain.

But Georgia really has solved that question!

What kind of lesson in internationalist upbringing should the Georgian nation learn from the Sumgait tragedy? Never in the many centuries they have existed have the Georgians created any problems for people they have sheltered. This is confirmed by the Georgian Jews' feelings toward Georgia.

There is no problem we have left unsolved in regard to Azerbaijani schools, Azerbaijani publications, Azerbaijani radio broadcasts, or higher education in the Azerbaijani language. Funds from Georgia's own budget go to prepare college-trained cadres for the Azerbaijani population and to train teachers for Azerbaijani schools. Except that it is not on a noncompetitive basis. Azerbaijanis living in Georgia are chosen through competition so that only the best ones are given a higher education in the Azerbaijani language at one of Tbilisi's best institutions of higher learning.

No, we do not have any problems at all!

Azerbaijanis are provided with all the conditions necessary for a normal life in Georgia.

Are the Azerbaijani "initiators" interested in the fact that their kinsmen are increasing faster in Georgia than in Azerbaijan, and one sign of Azerbaijanis' prosperity in Georgia is that the bazaars of Kartli and Kakhetia are flooded with Azerbaijani farmers?

Looking at the Ingilos' situation today, we do not believe that Azerbaijan cares about the Ingilos' wellbeing.

Our people's concern for the Azerbaijanis, on the other hand, has confronted us with a worry we haven't had for a long time; in the Orbeliani and Baratiani districts you hardly ever hear a word of Georgian!

One might expect that in its Initiative, Azerbaijan would promise to correct the tragic mistakes of the recent past and take care of the things that need to be restructured and set right.

We Georgians, on the other hand, have nothing that we need to restructure or improve with respect to our treatment of ethnic minorities, in particular the Azerbaijanis!

What we do need to correct and restructure is Georgians' own status in Georgia.

Our people face a serious danger. BAKINSKIY RAB-OCHIIY tells us that Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary A. Vezirov concluded by saying: "Special attention must be focused on the work of party and Soviet organs and cultural institutions locally so that we can meet the social-economic, cultural, spiritual, and linguistic needs of Azerbaijanis living outside the republic."

Now we can see clearly why most of the participants in the conference demanded special concern for the rights of "compactly settled" ethnic minorities. What everyone had to say came together in that last statement, and it became quite clear what the "Azerbaijan Initiative" is aiming at. The Azerbaijanis want even more improvement in the social-economic conditions of their countrymen who live in compact communities outside their own republic.

In this case, again, we are not on an equal footing. Things are not helped, nor disguised, by the sentence: "When drafting annual and long-range plans, the Republic of Azerbaijan intends to pay serious attention to rayons within its territory which are populated by compact communities of ethnic minorities."

It could be that the Azerbaijani "initiators" have been emboldened by the Georgians' unselfish generosity, but from now on, let no one take the Georgian people for fools!

It is not in the nature of the Georgian people to want to take another's land by "friendly annexation," and the Georgians do not have "compact communities" in other countries. There is no way you can equate the Ingilo Country with Marneuli and Gardabani! The Ingilos live on Georgian land!

We understand that it is a difficult matter to rearrange boundaries, but the Azerbaijani "initiators" also ought to understand that the "compact communities" of Ingilos are the native heirs of the land of Kakhetia and Heretia!

That is something everyone must understand!

For that matter, Azerbaijan would have no grounds for their initiative if the "Eagle of Revolution," as our countryman was called, had not come out with his own "initiative" at that time.

As for the Armenian SSR, the number of Georgians there is so small that there is not even a Georgian problem at all, let alone a problem of compact settlement.

All right, just why are they sending Georgia a draft proposal in which special attention is focused on "compact communities"?

What is the purpose of the "Azerbaijan Initiative"? It is to secure even more rights for the compact communities of their countrymen who live on Georgia's fertile lands.

We are told in the pages of IZVESTIYA that "it is time to put an end to bureaucratic malfeasance, illegality, and inaction with regard to ethnic minorities." We submit that no one should take this to be an expression of regret over the recent tragedy.

Thanks to the intervention of the whole Georgian public, there have been signs that the wholesale giveaway of Georgian lands is slowing down. Could this be what they mean by "bureaucratic malfeasance, illegality, and inaction"? So that's what Azerbaijan wants to settle in its own favor!

By this initiative, the Azerbaijan SSR's Commission for Inter-ethnic Relations and Internationalist Upbringing will solve for itself the problem of partitioning Georgia's lands. Securing that authority is Azerbaijan's main concern. As IZVESTIYA says, this undertaking by the Azerbaijanis will go into effect when the Georgian and Armenian Supreme Soviets ratify it. So there should be a meeting of the members of the Commission. How enthusiastically our neighbor Armenia will take to the question of compact communities of ethnic minorities living in other republics is also a matter to ponder, but the fact that we are always ready—to our own detriment—to undertake any step dubbed "internationalist" is something we have long since grown used to.

When the Nagorno-Karabakh issue was being discussed at the highest levels, we didn't even manage to bring up the matter of the Ingilo Country (for the sake of strengthening inter-ethnic brotherhood), we failed to say that our kinsmen living there also suffer heavy grief; we failed to say that Georgians' internationalist spirit and boundless love of mankind are the reason why we have managed to retain our benevolence at the expense of our own people's interests, through endless concessions and by concealing our own troubles.

The fact that a nation whose numerous problems are due to its own tolerance for others is regularly accused of nationalism and insulted in the pages of the Central press and on Central television—this is also something that must have its limit.

Just who should set an example of "internationalist upbringing" for whom? Georgians' tolerance also has its limits!

Apologies are better than bad manners, but the fact remains that it is easy for people to insult Georgians and to look for instances of Georgian nationalism to use as materials at the upcoming plenum devoted to nationality questions.

Many things that will hurt us have accumulated prior to the plenum. In preparation for the 1989 Census, they have tried to complicate the Georgian nation's already difficult demographic picture by splitting the Georgians, Svans, and Mingrelians.

There have been a lot of other things too.

The "Azerbaijan Initiative" is a very significant act. If a mistake is made here, moreover, it will be too late for apologies.

Before thinking that its initiative was an undertaking which accommodated our common vital interests, Azerbaijan should have published a few accurate statistics. For example, how many Azerbaijanis and Armenians live in Georgia and, conversely, how many Georgians live in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Then let's think about whether we have equal conditions and equal interests or not!

Azerbaijan and everyone else, our whole big country, need to understand, that **GEORGIA DOESN'T HAVE ANY MORE LAND TO GIVE AWAY!** [all caps in original]

There should be nothing in that statement that is unacceptable to our brotherly family or unworthy of us.

The amount of land per capita over the whole Soviet Union is 0.83 hectares; in Georgia it is 0.13 hectares. This also includes what we know as "vertical lands," the

skimpy lands that are hard to work in Georgia's highlands. Now let's ask, if this already land-poor republic, only 16 percent of whose lands are arable and 50 percent of those suffer from erosion and Georgia doesn't have enough funds to prevent erosion, what is left?

In that regard as well, the situation we find ourselves in has reached its limit. We repeat, Georgia has no more land!

If the Azerbaijanis have multiplied and prospered more on our lands than in Azerbaijan itself, that's because of our brotherly cooperation, the help Georgians have provided. Now let fraternal Azerbaijan help us: let them take in their own increase and shelter them. Georgia is in trouble! Let Azerbaijan take care of the native Georgians (Ingilos) of the Ingilo Country and also give us the chance to help our Georgian kinsmen who are in dire straits.

As far as taking people in and giving them shelter is concerned, there shouldn't be anything unacceptable in that. Incidentally, the editors of VOPROSY FILOSOFII organized a debate on the theme "Philosophical Problems of the Theory and Practice of Ethnic Relations Under Socialism." (Among others, this debate was participated in by Kazakh, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian specialists. Why wasn't there a single Georgian scientist among them? Are we to think that Georgians had nothing to say on the national question?) The materials from this round table were published in VOPROSY FILOSOFII No 9, 1988. It was noted that the Estonian scientists expressed alarm over the excessive numbers of other nationalities in Estonia. Doctor of Historical Sciences E. Troitskiy noted in his speech, "it is true that we consider the internationalization of public life to be a positive factor, but at the same time, if the means of production are modernized in Estonia and a certain portion of the Russian workers are thereby released, it would not be a bad thing for them to settle in the Pskov or Novgorod area. This would be a good thing to alleviate the food problem, which all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union are equally interested in."

Perhaps some other republics should carry out the same initiatives and recommendations!

As for acts which are unacceptable to our people, each one should be met with swift reaction by our press and our public.

Thank God Ivane Dzhavakhishvili's work has finally been published (see LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO, 17 September 1988). The great scientist's paper has made it clear to everyone why tsarist Russia was so interested in diluting the ethnicity of Georgian lands. But what about now, in the era of perestroika and glasnost?

The tsarist-era idea of people's migrations has been revived by Bromley's recommendations. The "Azerbaijan Initiative" also greatly promotes this policy, which tsarist Russia pursued in Georgia.

Times are different now. At least, times ought to be different now!

Endorsing the Azerbaijan Initiative will provide a firm legal foundation for the usurpation of Georgian lands.

The Baku newspaper quotes A. Vezirov: "We must be capable of picking out which questions need to be resolved first. Nationality problems are among them. We cannot solve them all at once. They will require time, careful study, and analysis. A carefully weighed, serious, businesslike approach to these problems is essential."

Their proposal is indeed very serious, businesslike, and well calculated to serve Azerbaijan's interests and harm Georgia's.

The Azerbaijanis have borrowed one idea from the 19th Party Conference, namely: "We adhere strictly to the principle that every Soviet citizen, regardless of his nationality, should feel at home anywhere in the Soviet Union. That is our goal."

Of course! But then Georgians ought to feel free in Georgia; surely they shouldn't have to feel like foreigners in their own motherland!

The Georgian public doesn't know anything about the documents which Azerbaijan has sent over. We should be told about the composition of the Azerbaijan Commission, how many Ingilos there are on it. After all, doesn't that national minority enjoy equal rights with Azerbaijan's native population?

The national composition of our own, counterpart Commission should also be made known. What are the principles on which the creation of this Commission was based? The draft proposal which Azerbaijan sent over should be published in full, also the account of the meeting that was printed in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY. There should be a public discussion concerning what response our own Commission intends to make.

Only after public discussion should we send a response to our Azerbaijani counterparts that is consistent with our people's interests.

We have hushed up too many things. As we mentioned earlier, for example, they removed the word "Georgian" from the name of the Ingilo Country and we didn't protest.

What Zeymal has in store for us prior to the 1989 Demographic Census probably wouldn't have happened if we hadn't closed our eyes to other, similar instances.

In Nestor Lakoba's book ("Articles and Speeches," published by Alashara, Sukhumi, 1987), there are several places where he mentions Mingrelians and Svans as if they were separate from Georgians (see pp 410 and 421). It comes as no surprise that this was not seen as disgraceful by A. Tulumdzian, the compiler of the collection, T. Arshba, the responsible editor, or R. Butba, G. Dzidzaria, A. Kuprava, and B. Sagaria, members of the editorial board. But how did it slip by D. Sturua, the head of the editorial board? These words were spoken in 1935 and 1936, of course, and so the editors could not change the text, but they could have appended a commentary to the book in which it was made clear that this was a methodological continuation, in the era of the "Father of Peoples," of tsarist policies toward Georgians, demonstrating the kind of "favor" the Georgian people enjoyed during those difficult years.

We have brought up N. Lakoba's book because the head of the editorial board is now the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet's Commission for Inter-ethnic Relations and Internationalist Upbringing. As such, Devi Sturua ought to be especially careful.

When our young people were prohibited from going to the Ingilo Country, we calmed them down by saying that it was all the fault of local functionaries. But there is also a limit to our young people's trust. Our students are raising painful and serious questions, and they demand an answer.

The Azerbaijan Initiative also has to do with the status of the Georgian language. After all, how can we retain Georgian as the official language if the national minorities inhabiting compact communities in Kartli and Dzhavakheti conduct their business and social-political life in a language that is not Georgian? For IZVESTIYA tells us that this is one of the Azerbaijanis' demands.

The Azerbaijan Commission has given specific recommendations to the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences concerning research having to do with ethnosociology and regional studies.

Let us not place all our hopes on the Azerbaijanis' scientific methodology. Georgian linguists, historians, ethnographers, art experts, and archeologists must have their own say and contribute their own knowledge on behalf of the Ingilo Country.

We have been blamed for nationalism so often lately that it seems even more likely that we will be accused of it now.

In response to this, let us recall for the reader a statement made in the spirit of so-called "internationalism" in 1922 by our countryman, Sergo Ordzhonikidze, who said: "The Georgians in Georgia are like the Great Russians in Russia. They are an 'aggressive' people. The Georgian people cannot say that they are being oppressed, because they themselves are the dominant

people in Georgia. The Georgian people constitute the dominant nation in Georgia, and they must show how a dominant people ought to behave toward the small nations living in Georgia."

Don't think that this quote comes from archive materials of 1922. It is taken from VOPROSY FILOSOFII No 9, 1988. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. Doronchenkov cites the quote and adds: "These words have deep meaning" (p 68). This "deep" meaning is based on a gross error: IT FAILS TO DISTINGUISH DOMINATION OF SOMEONE ELSE'S LAND FROM THE PROPRIETORSHIP OF ONE'S OWN LAND. [all caps in original] It is clear, at the same time, that political leaders who were our own countrymen were attempting as far back as the 1920s to ensure that Georgians would not feel like the proprietors of their own land.

Now let us see what was said by the one who inspired the nationality policy, again our own countryman, Comrade Stalin. At the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) in 1921 he stated: "It is impossible to go against history." In the future, according to him, the Russian elements in the cities of the Ukraine would inevitably diminish and subsequently become Ukrainized. Riga had been a German city and became Latvian, just as Hungary's Germanized cities became Magyar. Belorussia faced the same prospect.

Just a couple of years later, however, in 1923, at the 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik), the same Stalin, who was outraged over the position of the Georgian "national-uklonisty," easily took arms "against history" and stated that in addition to other factors, Georgia must remain in the Transcaucasian Federation" so that Tbilisi will not become a true Georgian capital" (see I. B. Stalin "Works," vol 5, p 280).

Since that time, indeed, much has been "settled" in Georgia. In a large part of the territory we inherited from our forefathers, Georgia's interests have been completely restricted. Often it is dangerous for a Georgian even to visit those districts.

With its "initiative," Azerbaijan will secure the legal right to get its hands on Georgian lands. We have already settled Azerbaijanis and other neighboring peoples on Georgian lands. Now they're trying to create a legal document securing rights which we Georgians have already given them in our good-neighborly way. They want to make a law out of what they already have. But this can only be followed by more demands and more complications.

There is one more very important matter relating to the adoption and enactment of the "initiative": It opens great prospects for solving the problem of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations at Georgia's expense.

Evidence for such an attempt is provided by the book "Nagorno-Karabakh (Historical Handbook)," which was published in Russian in 1988 by the Armenian Academy of Sciences. According to the annotation, the book is intended for a broad readership. On page 15 we read the following: "In the second half of the 1840s, in connection with new administrative changes, the Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Shemakh, and Derbent (the latter lying partially in Transcaucasia) guberniyas were created in Transcaucasia. Territories of eastern Armenia became part of the first three guberniyas with the status of individual uyezds." What eastern Armenian lands are being referred to here? Perhaps the Zestafoni or Samtredia uyezds, which were part of the Kutaisi Guberniya? Did they belong to eastern Armenia? Being, as we are, aware of the Armenian scientists' truly unbounded tendentiousness, it would not surprise us if, one fine day, they did declare in some Armenian publication that the above uyezds did belong to Armenian territory.

How long is this kind of unbridled falsification going to continue? The most outrageous thing is that this so-called "historical handbook" is signed by 19 well-known Armenian specialists in various fields (including full members and corresponding-members of the Armenian Academy of Sciences). In the Introduction it is stated specially that this historical handbook has been reviewed and approved by the Armenian Academy's Departments of History, Economics, Philosophy, and Philology, and recommended for publication by the Academy's Presidium.

It is time for us to see that this tendency is nothing new. We direct readers once more to Ivane Dzhavakhishvili's article concerning Great Russian policies in Georgia.

Since the very founding of the Soviet Union, the line of national nihilism has continued and the effort started under tsarism has been crowned under the pretext of the idea of internationalism.

Our country has now started to correct many mistakes that were committed during the era of authoritarian rule. Have no mistakes been made with respect to Georgia in the matter of the nationality question?

In his article "Russia" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 12 October 1988) Academician D. Likhachev states quite precisely: "Internationalism, the march toward the future, and attitudes toward the past—all of these must be corrected in terms of what Russia represents."

According to Academician D. Likhachev, "In general no people can have national characteristics, nor a single trait defining national character, that is alien to other people. Only the character of Russia is distinctively individual."

It took a dozen years to establish the idea of internationalism, but the fact remains that the culture of equality among nations has yet to be secured.

"Initiatives" and similar acts supposedly advance equality among nations; in reality, however, they promote inequality among nations.

In his aforementioned article, Academician D. Likhachev writes: "Russian culture, and with it all Russia, is a personality, an individual." As we see, this scientist has deemed Russian culture and Russia to be distinctive and individual—the kind of expansive individual, moreover, for which the desire for relations with other nations and cultures is so vast that it hardly even has a sense of boundaries.

Since the famous scientist has brought up the subject of nation as individual and noted, moreover, that "the character of Russia is distinctively individual," let us agree that the Georgian nation can also be deemed an individual. The Georgian nation has also, from the beginning, had the desire for relations with other nations, nor have Georgians had a sense of boundaries—except that it has been to their own detriment. Georgians never could survive on someone else's land, they were too homesick. They have partaken of the world's cultural treasures and shared their own spiritual benefits with others. Formerly they defended their lands by the sword; now they have divvied it up so much with their brotherly family that they almost feel like guests in their own home. Georgians today are filled with fear of tomorrow.

On the eve of the 19th Party Conference, on 27 June 1988, V. Rasputin appeared on Central television and shared this sad confidence: We Russians, he said, are patriots. We have a great talent for sacrificing ourselves for others, yet there are many who are not grateful to us. Another time V. Rasputin, attempting to express the expansiveness of the Russian character and its striving for space, came out with this unprecedented term: "prodleniye Rodiny [extension of the Motherland]."

What can you do?

If the Georgian's concern for his own land is ever deemed to be patriotism rather than nationalism, and if we get to keep the word "Georgian" on the nationality line of our passport and others get to keep theirs, then V. Rasputin can say with confidence that he is a patriot, and many other problems will be made easier both for his nation and for other nations.

The national problems which have troubled Georgia for many centuries still remain unsolved.

The Azerbaijan Initiative also represents an important step along this line.

Numerous worries have accumulated prior to the upcoming plenum devoted to national questions. The Georgian people are morally empowered and also obligated to declare that while up to now they have not had a sense of boundaries between themselves and their brother peoples, things are different now, things are very complicated!

Our nation has its own individuality, and it has to preserve that individuality! The Georgian people must secure their existence and their national identity. It is their duty not only to themselves but to world culture and to the history of mankind!

#### **Youth Newspaper Readers Respond to Georgian Language Program**

18130022 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian 12 Nov 88 p 3

[Letters to editors under rubric "State Language Program. Public Discussion": "The Public Approves and Supports!"]

[Text]

#### **We Express the Hope...**

The fact that the Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education devoted its first meeting of the collegium to the problem of measures to improve the teaching of Georgian language and literature in the republic's school system is by itself an indication of the great attention being paid to this matter and how concerned it is about problems of strengthening our national identity.

Only a few days have passed since the Program was published in the press, and the first responses have already come in to the Ministry.

We cannot ignore the truth: The ongoing perestroika in the country has brought to light many problems in an entirely new way. As we know, the theoretical training and pedagogical mastery of a certain percentage of Georgian language teachers cannot meet the higher standards set for the teaching of the mother tongue. The situation is very grave in the republic's highland districts and in a number of non-Georgian general-education, secondary, secondary-specialized, and vocational-technical schools. In many places, Georgian is being taught by non-specialists. In effect, not a single school in the republic provides intensive study of the native language and literature, whereas this matter has essentially been resolved affirmatively in the teaching of foreign languages and technical fields.

The republic's state establishments, including the schools and other learning institutions, have not set up a unified language regime; little attention is paid to the universal adoption, strengthening, and protection of the purity of the Georgian language. One could go on listing the various shortcomings... The Program itself shows and stipulates how much we lack, how much must be done in the future, and as soon as possible, in the shortest possible time.

By our indifference, we have ignored our native language in many ways. Did we have to wait for perestroika before we thought about equipping our republic's telegraph network with Georgian printers or supplying typewriters with Georgian typefonts? Nor did we seem to care that we lacked an atlas of the Georgian SSR, maps, and scientific-technical dictionaries... We are filled with hope by the prospect of setting up departments for the cultivation of Georgian speech in the VUZes, the reinstatement of oral exams in Georgian language and literature for secondary school graduates enrolling in humanities faculties, and the introduction of interview consultations prior to entrance exams for secondary school graduates in Russian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani sectors. All of this places our school system in a position of special responsibility. [signed] Neli Gurgenzidze, Georgian SSR Deputy Minister of Education.

#### Our Proposal

We staff members of Promstroybank were very happy to see the publication of the State Program for the Further Development of the Georgian Language. It was with keen interest that we studied this undertaking by the Rustaveli Society, and we should like to share with you our own proposal.

Item 15 of Problem 3 of the State Georgian Language Program states that it is necessary "to introduce consultation interviews in Georgian language and literature prior to entrance exams for secondary school graduates enrolling in Russian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani sectors." In our opinion it would be better to introduce a written or oral exam in Georgian language and literature for this category of secondary school graduates, because in many cases consultation interviews are conducted in a formalistic manner; an examination would probably completely eliminate such cases. [signed] Nana Chankotadze, Gocha Dzhavakhia, Davit Sidamonidze, Dimitri Chania, Dzhulieta Dzhincharadze, Paata Lomtadze, Tsira Toloraia, Eliso Gubeladze, and Zurab Khundadze, employees of Promstroybank.

#### We Support It!

Every Georgian and, indeed, every internationalist, was highly pleased by the "State Georgian Language Program" which was published in the 3 November edition of KOMUNISTI for public discussion.

During the period of stagnation, unfortunately, a rather vigorous movement was launched against the so-called "national languages." Their functional range was gradually constricted, relegating them to the status of "museum exhibits." Although writers were not deprived of the right to work in their native language, recommendations were such that the writer was supposed to be bilingual and make extensive use of a language other than his own in his creative works. A writer whose work appeared in his native language after it was already familiar to Russian readers "merited" more respect. In

this way, the functions of the native language became increasingly restricted. Documents in enterprises and establishments were no longer written in Georgian (incidentally, the usual excuse was that "we don't have a Georgian typewriter"! ). The "national language" was considered to be a scientific language only for the philosophical sciences, and with a number of restrictions at that. The right to write dissertations in the languages of the republics was abolished. And so on.

Constitutional rights in the sphere of language were violated at every step, but no one was made to answer for this at any level or in connection with any incident. Such a situation could not go on, of course, and fortunately perestroika has already yielded significant results in this regard as well.

The Georgian literary language has a long history; it has been the state language from the 5th century. It unites Georgian tribes which are linguistically quite differentiated. It is the language of the Church and secular learning, the language in which the appropriate sciences and cultural spheres have flourished in all eras.

Language is the strongest unifying and consolidating factor of the Georgian nation. The unitary line of its development has never been broken even in times of gravest trouble, times of our greatest trials. Extremely characteristic is the fact that, despite considerable divergences in tribal and conversational speech, the Georgian language has essentially preserved its original phonetic and grammatical features to this day. This is one reason for the continuity of Georgian literary traditions. The Georgian literary language's authority and sense of monolithic character among the various Georgian tribes have always been so great that the speech of these tribes has effected practically no changes in the language, and today all Georgians can read the masterpieces of Georgian literature from the 5th century and subsequent periods. The Georgian language has always been polyvalent. It has been able to meet all linguistic needs required by the era.

The polyvalent nature of the Georgian language has become even more evident in the Soviet period, under conditions of expanded spheres of its use, in particular in the VUZes and various fields of science. In this context, any artificial restriction on its functions (such as we discussed above) is of course totally unjustified.

We believe that the public at large will heartily support the proposed State Georgian Language Program and will endeavor to implement it. We believe the people will preserve the Georgian language, that the Georgian nation will preserve its historically won rights and foster the further progress of the language. [signed] Academician Ketevan Lomtadze.

**Georgian Language Program: Measures in Industry, Economy**  
18130020 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 10 Nov 88 p 3

[Letters to editors under rubric "State Language Program. Public Discussion": "The Public Approves and Supports!"]

[Text]

**Our Initiative**

Man's worst ailment is indifference. Sometimes this ailment is so ingrained that it is difficult to fight even when it is a matter of what we hold most dear—national consciousness.

Today, when the glasnost, democracy, and perestroyka that are underway in the country have given us the chance to be active, it is the duty of every one of us to take today's problems closer to heart.

Recently the press published the draft of the State Georgian Language Program, which reflects what every one of us wanted to say. Although, of course, most of us had already been thinking about all this for some time and even taken practical steps. I should like to tell you about the work our association has been doing to protect and enhance our native language. The Elva Scientific-Production Association has a staff of several thousand.

The Association is under all-union jurisdiction and, consequently, it has conducted all its business in Russian since the day it was founded (our Institute was established in 1956). Bearing in mind also the fact that the situation is similar in other institutes, it is clear that we have neglected the Georgian language a great deal in all that time. It has in effect lost the ability to be enriched with technical terminology.

When we created a primary organization of the Rustaveli Society in the Institute, the board of the Society set as one of its prime tasks that of preserving the purity of the Georgian language. We also appealed to the staff of the Institute from that standpoint....

The appeal alone, of course, would not be enough to change things. What was needed was a formulated program, the support of the labor collective council, the board of directors, and the party and trade union organizations.

Indeed, the Rustaveli Society's appeal was written, in which it stated that all signs, notices, and announcements in the organization must be in Georgian, meetings of all types must be conducted in Georgian, and free classes for the study of Georgian should be formed... The most important point among many others was the stipulation that from 1 January 1990 we should, as far as possible, convert to conducting business in Georgian.

Fortunately, we did not encounter any opposition on the part of the board of directors, although converting to conducting the Institute's business in Georgian is a complicated matter. On 17 October the board of directors issued an order stipulating that the Institute is to conduct all its business in Georgian starting in 1990. This is sufficient time to carry out preparatory work; in particular, the non-Georgian staffers will have to learn Georgian. To this end, the Institute has formed free Georgian language classes. About 80 applicants have already signed up.

In setting up these classes, members of the board of the Rustaveli Society have given us a great deal of support. They have promised to send us highly-qualified teachers who will not only teach Georgian to the students but will also give lectures about Georgian history and Georgian culture.

The main thing now is desire and effort. Nothing is impossible. If we try, we can do anything. [signed] Gia Mebonia, chairman of the board of the Primary Organization of the Rustaveli Society, Scientific-Research Institute of Instrument-Making and Automation Devices, Elva Scientific-Production Association.

**Everyone's Cherished Cause**

In this letter I want to share with you the inspiration and joy I experienced when the State Program for the Further Development of the Georgian Language was published. The care, further development, universal adoption, and scientific study and teaching of the Georgian literary language is a vital concern which every true son of his fatherland considers to be his own cherished cause.

I remember very well the speech made by Manana Giginishvili at the meeting of the Council to Coordinate the Scientific Work of the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Language and Literature; your newspaper published that speech. The problems which Ms. Manana discussed struck a chord in each one of us. She presented an unvarnished picture of the status of the Georgian language today, one which made us think, made us see the vital necessity of taking care of our mother tongue.

I am a representative of the technical intelligentsia. It is very rare today for any Georgian specialist working in a technical field to convey his thoughts accurately in pure Georgian. Without a doubt, the reason is that the Georgian language has been all but banished from technical fields.

When the Georgian University was first founded, as we know, the teaching of technical sciences in Georgian involved great difficulties. There was no Georgian terminology, a factor which made it difficult to give lectures in Georgian. It was essential to fill that gap immediately (a gap which resulted from the persecution of Georgian in pre-revolutionary Georgia).

Great Georgian scientists made a vast contribution to the creation of a Georgian technical terminology, the preparation of a Georgian language study course, the teaching of technical subjects in our native language, and major efforts to strengthen the language and protect its purity.

Because of our apathy, in the course of time we have frittered away, we have lost this great achievement by Georgian scientists. We no longer take care of the purity of the Georgian language. We often, in Georgian conversation, unthinkingly use non-Georgian technical terms.

Despite our strong desire, we Georgians who are specialists in technical fields, builders, geologists, chemists, and so on, have a hard time expressing technical thinking in our native Georgian language. When trying to find the right word in conversation, our thoughts slip away and we finally resort to Russian terms, conversing in a kind of Georgian-Russian jargon.

How did this situation come about? There are many causes. They include poorly translated school textbooks and the fact that in the VUZes we study our specialties basically out of Russian books. Later, once we have become specialists, we also make use of Russian technical literature, technical norms and procedures, and various directives. All kinds of office accounts, business forms, and correspondence within the republic—even within the same organization—are conducted only in Russian.

Hence, Georgian specialists in technical fields spend whole days thinking, talking, and writing basically only in Russian.

The State Georgian Language Program presents a full picture of the essential problems which must be settled today, matters which are of vital importance to our nation.

I work in the Construction Materials Research Institute. We members of the primary organization of the Institute's Rustaveli Society are drawing up proposals relating to the extensive adoption of Georgian in production. We will adopt these proposals in consultation with our board of directors who, in turn, are preparing proposals stipulating that whenever possible business is to be conducted in the native language. Final resolution of the matter will take a certain amount of time, of course, but the main thing is that the first steps have now been taken; a general meeting of the staff has been held.

I should like to end on the same note I started with: the drafting of the State Georgian Language Program is a very important event, and it is every honorable citizen's duty to make his personal contribution to the discussion and implementation of the program. [signed] Zaira Saradzhishvili, engineer, member of the primary organization of the Rustaveli Society, Construction Materials Institute.

#### A Proposed Addendum

It seems to us that in order to ensure more in-depth study of our native language, the general fundamentals of the Kartvelian languages should be introduced into the school program (Georgian, Mingrelian, Laz, Svanetian). [signed] Zurab Askaneli, Levan Bregadze.

#### Georgian Writer Alarmed About Russianization of Mingrelia

18130019 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 45, 1988 p 11-12

[Article by Zaur Kalandia: "Before Ilia Comes to Zugdidi"]

[Text] Who does not know the legendary woes of our "Virgin-blessed land"? Such has been our historic fate! Our nation has walked the tightrope from century to century, the rope has frayed thinner and thinner and—Just as we were about to plunge into the abyss like one condemned of God, somehow miraculously we survived; then we felt the hand of Providence which, like in the folk tales, would send us a heroically tall, godlike champion.

That's how we have come through history's brambles to where we are today.

Our country, whether fragmented or clenched as one fist, has always had its enemies both numberless and driven by one "single idea"—threatening our language, our faith, our nation and fatherland with destruction or degradation. Nor is there a single district in Georgia which has not had "its own" woes visited upon it and hence, fortunately, the woes have become the shared woes of all the nation!

That's the way it is today.

Racha, Pshavi, and Khevsureti have become depopulated....Terrible tragedy struck Svanetia not long ago. Kartli, Kakheti, Meskheta, Abkhazia, and Mingrelia are all in trouble....Our woes are seemingly known to everyone, apparent to all....Sometimes they hang in the air like the smell of gunpowder, or like a naked sword above our head....And anyone who is a Georgian, I have no doubt, is worried and agonizes about it, but agonizing is one thing and deeds or reality, our behavior, if you will, is another! Often, in fact, we are proud of it: look how generous/hospitable we Georgians are!

God forbid we should not love our neighbor. Neighbor? How about all the homeless refugees we have taken in, given shelter and all the best places on this blessed land of ours....No one can accuse us Georgians of not respecting representatives of other nations, their language and customs. It also needs to be said, however, that some people have misunderstood the respect we have accorded them and, because of our apathy, diffidence, or indulgent nature we have often closed our eyes to their

unworthy behavior. Our "generosity" has always been at the expense of our own land; indeed, even our native language has been corrupted and diminished thereby! And there's more! If we think about it more deeply we will see that we have put our Georgian nature, customs, and phenomenal soul up against theirs; all unwittingly, we have promoted our own disappearance and degradation....

I'll say once more: Georgians know all about brotherly love, but this one-sided love has brought us to grief more than once....Waiting with our hands folded or assuming that the time will come when the outsider will himself perceive the hypocrisy of his actions and repent, however "Christian" we are, is a waste of time!

Now someone named Zeymal has taken it upon himself to "champion" us Mingrelians and Svans, saying the Georgians are oppressing us. Is that supposed to be some kind of "sworn" brotherhood?!

Tariel Chenturia has written: "The Georgian people have the wisdom, willpower, and wit not to fall for that kind of provocation."

Indeed! The intentions of "scientists" like Zeymal are nothing new, nor have they been forgotten; people like that have a lot of experience and, therefore, "flying off the handle" would only be a point for them.

Anyway, the rock which the author of "What the Figures Cry Out" has thrown is like a boomerang. "Attacks" like his benefit Georgians; they call out every man jack and foster national consciousness.

...It is unfortunate, but it would be naive to expect every Georgian to be as moral and patriotic as Tsotne Dadiani or Father Tevdore. Nor can you command Georgians to be "full of Georgian honor," to strive and live the spiritual life. Most people in society are more concerned with themselves, their families, and how to take care of them, than with social and national problems. This is fostered by today's times, the social environment, our way of life. The concept "fatherland and patriot" began to break down early in this century (at least we tried!) and, naturally, that has had its effect.

It must also be said that people can't live on their wages. The bazaar is terribly expensive, and the shelves in the food stores are empty. A worker in trade makes around 100 rubles....And a factor worker doesn't have it much better, maybe 200 rubles at the most! The kolkhoz peasant no longer wants to go work in the fields, and I don't think you need to ask why. Everyone, after all, wants to stay alive and to live well (nothing wrong with that). The time is long past when nine brothers, for example, would be willing to get married wearing the same shirt. No matter how much we admonish people to live honestly and within their means, they may keep quiet, out of fear, but in their heart they're laughing at us.

What can you do? People have to live like human beings, and I believe that's why the revolution took place. The reason the peasant, worker, or intellectual busts a gut is in order to have a nice home, a summer place, a car, a color television, and foreign furniture (you can't even assemble Georgian-made furniture, and assembled furniture won't make it all the way home intact)....A man ought to be able to live well, but not better than his motherland—for most people, this is nothing more than a pretty, poetic metaphor!

Now let's ask, Who is it that manages to live so carefree? First of all, of course, officials and...anyone who "hustles...." This is why a tragic mentality has become entrenched in a large portion of society: you either have to be a "rughead" or sit in a "big chair"! I met a man who was proud of the fact that an extra staircase in his two-story home cost him 19,000 rubles. Even worse, his neighbors, members of his household, and relatives were also proud of that staircase....Naturally, they wished it was theirs! A hundred years ago a Mingrelian village "tough" with a torn shirt might strut around town telling everyone he tore it while stealing a horse; the "good old boy" businessman today, or his godfather, goes around no less arrogantly and grandly, changing homes, summer cottages, and cars as often as handkerchiefs. You couldn't do anything to him if you tried.

Has anything changed in that regard in the last one hundred years? Not a thing!

So much for generalities, now let's get down to specifics.

The Inguri GES project was started in 1961. Soon it was declared an all-union project. Naturally, workers flooded into Dzhvari and other villages in Tsalendzhikha Rayon and Zugdidi....The villages of Ilori, Saberio, Potskho, Rechkhii, and Gudava turned into urban-type housing tracts....

Because Russian, and Russian alone, was and is the language of such a big undertaking, soon the knowledge of Russian became indispensable for the men of Dzhvari, Potskho, and Zugdidi. Indeed, not only all-union but also our own republic's departments are "pushing" the need for Russian. Even a scrap of paper comes out in that language.

Naturally, the officials of the Inguri GES project and Tsalendzhikha, Gali, and Zugdidi rayons didn't waste any time. They opened a number of Russian schools and kindergartens for the newcomers....A Georgian-Russian newspaper was established. The banks of the Inguri came to be called "levvy bereg" and "pravyy bereg." The town of "Primorskiy" was established....(Nodar Tsuleiskari, the writer, spoke out on this matter at the time). Eventually, Russian became more than merely the language of interethnic communication; it came to be a matter of

prestige, a way to get to be a big man....Nor can we ignore the fact that in many places any young man who wanted to get ahead needed a knowledge of Russian as he would a college degree.

Today the Inguri GES project is pretty much completed (or, more precisely, it is being extended to the mountains of Svanetia: we are building another one, the Khudoni GES, we are being promised still another one higher up, the Tobari GES, and God knows what ecological disaster awaits us). Nevertheless, practically none of the newcomers have gone back to their own homeland. It seems they like a country with nine months of summer better than one with nine months of winter, and you can hardly blame them. In this way, thanks to these "efforts" of ours, we now have a situation in which most of the inhabitants of Dzhvari, Saberio, and Gudava are non-Georgians and the Georgian language is in a precarious position.

It's a different situation in Zugdidi.

The construction of the Inguri Paper Combine in that city started earlier than the Inguri GES project (in the late 1930s). The combine project, of course, also brought in large numbers of workers from other republics. In time, the facility became economically strong and, as the Zugdidiens themselves say proudly, a city was built within the city. Living conditions (it cannot be denied) came to be better than in the case of the Inguri GES project. Georgian paper mill workers came into being, laborers and office workers....Unlike in the case of newcomers to Dzhvari, Saberio, and Gudava, newcomers to Zugdidi began to leave; young people especially (even those who were born there) began to migrate out. Apparently the concept of fatherland, "your country," stirred something good in them....

One might say that in terms of demography Zugdidi really is a Georgian city (91.7 percent of the population), but....Can we say that with full confidence? I have my doubts.

Start with the fact that four of the city's 15 secondary schools (8000 students) are Russian, but 1251 of the 1635 students who attend them are Georgians!

Let us also not ignore the fact that most officials are sending their children to Russian schools. The number of Georgian names on the first-grade rolls is rising catastrophically every year! I don't need statistical figures to show this. Secondary School No 4 and No 5 (the former is in the middle of town, the latter is located at the Inguri Paper Combine) are prestigious. Every morning and afternoon, the streets where these schools are located are jammed with black Volgas belonging to the schoolchildren's parents.

We ordinary Georgians (especially we who belong to the Mingrelian ethnographic group) have a great talent for mimicry. I will not deny that we love luxury and lavish

entertaining of guests....Naturally, this takes a lot of money, or a source of money....You also have to have a nice home and yard (as nice as your neighbor's)....But the main thing is that we have to educate all our children, and in the most prestigious schools....In short, our prime goal is to provide for our children and raise them to be "big men." As a working man, for example (it should be enough that I am a worker, I should think), I want my son to go to the same school as my director's son, to be his school chum and go to college together; in other words, I want to imitate my all-powerful boss. There's more! My dream is that my son will "build" an illustrious family like that man. I am also aware, of course, that Russian is the dominant language in every enterprise or establishment (whether of republic or all-union affiliation) and I consider myself obligated to teach my children Russian. Nor will I deny that it costs a lot less to "install" my "would-be big man" heir in Novosibirsk, Rostov, Chita, or Moscow than in Sukhumi or Tbilisi....What does it matter whether my son has the talent for study? He knows Russian? He went to school 11 years? Then the main thing is to get our hands on a college degree, and after that....As a father, it's my duty to see that my son gets a high-paying job. And it is doubtful that my own so-called official language—in the home, anyway—will do him any good "beyond Gali" (such an expression is going around).

Perhaps I'm being too harsh, but unfortunately that's the truth and we need to face up to it!

Therefore, in the Inguri Paper Combine district, where we are not so bad off in terms of demography, the Russian language is nevertheless dominant. How is this reflected? First, most of the inhabitants there are sending their children to Russian schools, after which they all, almost without exception, go to college in other republic; many of them remain there permanently. Those who do come back have not only got married and changed their speech—they have degenerated in manners, habits, morals, and mentality. They look upon truly Georgian things, things native to them, somewhat arrogantly and scornfully. There is nothing surprising in this. It is very rare for a graduate of a Russian school to have a complete grasp of his own nation's culture and spiritual heritage! Second, the Georgian residents of the Inguri Paper Combine district subscribe to twice as many Russian publications as they do Georgian. A few years ago, in fact, when we celebrated the Georgian combine's jubilee, there wasn't a trace of Georgian printing on the six-page invitation ticket! Such was our celebration of the GEORGIAN paper combine's jubilee! [all caps as in original]

Well, the Inguri GES project has done its bit to "fill" and "settle" Tsalendzhikha, Gali, and Zugdidi rayons. Now the foundation has been poured for an even larger all-union construction project in Zugdidi (called Vektor). It is to be located next to the Inguri Paper Combine, and work on the project started quite a while ago. Neither I nor the rest of the city's inhabitants knew what

the project was, or what the work "vektor" means. Moreover, it's for "unranked" people like us to guess how big an "army" of workers we're going to get. City officials do not deny that they are hoping for invited specialists and thousands of workers who will come in from fraternal republics.

Putting it mildly, if a peasant, the heir and survivor of a thousand years on this land, should stand up and ask us, "Would you please tell me what you're building here on top of my father's and grandfather's graves?"—do we have the right to reveal it?

For that matter, why hasn't anyone thought of this: if the city doesn't have enough manpower, what's the use of planning such a big project in that district? There's an old Georgian proverb: "Don't stick your feet out farther than your blanket!" In other words, if the local population can't provide more than 20 percent of the project's manpower, then maybe it would be better to build it in the place where you're bringing those people from!

Now what?

Naturally, we don't have enough Russian schools and kindergartens. What we have to do is build new ones soon, where our children and others can go, otherwise....

What's going to happen to Zugdidi tomorrow or thirty-fourty years in the future?

Perhaps Ochamchire Rayon is not a good example, but I will use it anyway.

The population of Ochamchire Rayon is a little more than 50 percent Georgian. But of this rather large Georgian community, how many are really Georgian? Not many, in my opinion.

Let's look at statistics again.

There are 48 schools in the rayon. Ten of them are Georgian, four are Abkhazian (for the primary grades; after that, instruction is in Russian), three are Armenian, and the rest—35—are Russian.

A few months ago, the nationally renowned surgeon, Mr. Leo Bokeria gave an interview to some foreign newspaper, and in it he said: "I know Russian, English, and my native Mingrelian." This provoked the wrath of our intelligentsia, and rightly so! It is desirable (obligatory, even!) to look more deeply into the phenomenon.

First of all, Mr. Leo Bokeria is a leading specialist in his field rather than "a great Georgian national figure." Raised in Ochamchire, he probably spoke Mingrelian in the home until he was school age. He went to a Russian school, graduated from college in Russia, and as far as I know he has been working in Moscow ever since. Hence,

Mr. Leo is in error: his native language is not Mingrelian, unfortunately, but Russian! Mingrelian is mere homesickness, something that is not quite completely severed from his roots....

Every one of us must answer for our own apathy, inaction, and laziness....Above all, former education ministers must answer for those 38 Russian-Armenian schools!

I'll say something else, about what we Georgian writers are doing to promote the spiritual or economic progress of our country and our life. Yes, many wonderful things are being done; essential and not-so-essential books are being written....The Writers' Union has a propaganda office which sends brigades of us writers out into the rayons. We put on a poetry evening, we each read a poem, the people applaud politely, then we have a traditional banquet and all the rest....If an official from the city is in attendance, he pays attention to us, he remembers our name and what genre we work in, and what more could we ask? Content, we go back home to Tbilisi. That's the extent of our and their joint effort.

It is unfortunate, but most of us writers have forgotten our obligation, the main point: we must answer not only for the times in which we work but also for centuries after that! It is our destiny, the heavy burden of Georgian writers because of our nation's small numbers! And if we fail to think of it this way, then the deeds and duties of us writers and the party's leaders will be seen wrongly and in a false light! That is the truth and we must face up to it!

Something else needs to be said: we have canonized a certain way of life (I do not want to call it Soviet). Everything is seemingly all right in the city and the countryside, all over the republic....More than just all right, excellent, wonderful....We are told this every day on the radio and television, in the newspapers and magazines. But in what sense?! In reality, I think, it's like one poet once said: "Everything is very bad...." In the abstract: "Everything is very good!"

It cannot be denied that the work of any province's cultural departments looks rather modest. What do they do, basically? They are in charge of a city's spiritual life. For example, the theater, museums, houses of culture, exhibition galleries, libraries....They arrange meetings with artists, scientists, and so on.

And yet, it looks like their efforts are just a going-through-the-motions.

Let's talk about Zugdidi again.

Although I should like to point out that a lot of good things have also been done in the past two years. Consider, for example, the erection of a wonderful monument to Ilia Chavchavadze in the center of the city, the opening of an art gallery, the puppet theater, and the

activation of the Matskhovari Kari Church ("Mantskhvar Kari")....This year, after 17 years, a collection of Zugdidi authors titled "Egrisi" was finally published....So we do have something to talk about, but it still only amounts to a small contribution by a few "individualistic" officials and people concerned for the city, and every one of us will have to monitor it closely, pay attention to it every day, and see that it goes deeper. In particular: everyone is aware that the city of Zugdidi is the possessor of great treasure in the form of the History and Ethnography Museum and the Dadianis' unique botanical garden. The city's new leaders, of course, are well aware that the work of the museum was in a shambles for years on end, yet now a year has passed and no person worthy of being its director has been found. The fact that the state theater is in trouble is also not news; it has been reported several times in the republic press. There are no readers in the reading rooms, and the recently opened art gallery remains empty from morning till night; the three people on its staff are paid once every three months, if that.

What is the newspaper MEBRDZOLI, the city's cultural standard-bearer, doing in the spiritual sphere? Not much; practically nothing most of the time. Once every two weeks it prints an ideologically "sound" poem on page four, and that's the end of it. The newspaper is practically uninterested in a theater premier, the museum, a new book, a new exhibit, historical monuments, guests, or the work of the city's creative intelligentsia; it hardly even announces them!

Except for a couple of republic newspapers, our editorial offices get the power of the word, the vital need for boldness and perestroika, through the Russian press.

What can we do, what is to be done from now on?

It is very difficult for anyone who has been wrong to change his habitual way of life all at once.

Nevertheless, perestroika is essential, even a matter of life and death!

First: each and every Georgian parent needs to understand the consequences of sending his child to a non-Georgian school, to understand that by separating his heir from his native roots he is cutting him off from his past....And because the future does not exist without the past, he is depriving his heir not only of his fatherland but of himself!

Second: the republic government and Georgia's creative intelligentsia must pay more attention to Mingrelia, in particular the city of Zugdidi!

What should that consist of?

The city should have, if not the best then at least one of the most interesting national theaters!

An annual literary almanac should be published in Zugdidi!

A department of the Rustaveli Society should be organized!

It is time to open departments of the Writers' Union and the Artists' Union (like they have in Gori)!

We have the people we need to do it, thank God!

The Church should also be part of it, for the Church is still a force in our nation.

This is all extremely urgent!

Every one of us—Mingrelian, Kartlian, Imeretian, Kakhetian...—all Georgians must take part in this patriotic endeavor! We won't get anywhere individually, one by one! We cannot!

Otherwise, who knows how long we'll have to wait for the advent of a heroically tall, godlike man in Georgia, the likes of the Great Ilia Chavchavadze in the 19th century?

For when the new Ilia shall appear to our nation and arrive at Tsaishi, perhaps he will not be able to say "I AM IN MINGRELIA AND I SEE GEORGIA...."

#### **'Economic Theoreticians' Who Urge Georgian Migration Slammed**

18/3002/ Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 46, 11 Nov 88 pp 3-4

[Article by Revaz Dzhabaridze: "Motherland or 'Familiar Landscape'?"]

[Text] Lately a great deal has been written in the world's press and in our country, the Soviet press, concerning natural or artificial, planned migration. Migration—the movement of populations—is not a new problem to mankind. It came into being when man—or, more broadly, life—appeared on earth, and it will continue until life ceases on the planet, as long as big or small groups of people have the possibility of moving from one place to another.

The prime factor and motivating force in migration has always been society's economic needs, and society's economic needs retain their decisive role today and will continue to do so in the future.

In the prehistoric era, in tribal societies before the formation of classes, a time which has been thoroughly described and scientifically analyzed in Friedrich Engels's celebrated work "The Formation of the Family, Private Property, and the State," very large groups of people—clans—led a nomadic existence, moved from place to place in the world, and constantly changed habitats.

On the basis of an analysis of the way of life of the Iroquois tribe, Engels elaborated an impressively clear picture of mankind's early stages and thus laid the groundwork for the scientific study of the distant past of the human race.

In that distant era there were not yet any tools by which primitive man might transform his natural surroundings and thus, in turn, transform himself. Man satisfied his needs from nature's ready-made bounty and was thus at the complete mercy of nature's forces. Later, fire came into use, tents, flint axes, the bow and arrow, resulting in a revolution in men's relationships. The domestication of the tamest animals eventually led to the establishment of livestock herding.

From then on, man was partly freed from the yoke of being the humble slave of the forces of nature and became the master of his own destiny. He became less dependent on the whims of the god of hunting. His herds of domesticated animals could at any time satisfy any of society's needs.

Livestock-herding tribes are always chafing at their habitation; they lead a nomadic life, always searching for better grazing land. They drive their herds hundreds and thousands of kilometers and back along the same route, leaving grazed lands and campsites behind. Their relation to their natural surroundings is still a passive one, solely one of consumption. The nomadic herdsman only takes from nature what he needs to satisfy his native instincts, giving nothing in return and leaving no trace anywhere of his existence. He is in no way bound to any particular spot on earth, because he has no past, he always looks forward, and to him the most desirable place is where the best grazing land is and he can keep the herd that supports him as long as possible.

Next came agriculture, and man began to penetrate more actively into the secrets of nature. The wooden plow was invented, the foundation was laid for the artificial breeding of grain, and very large groups of people who had been wandering the four corners of the earth in search of sustenance eventually settled in one place.

It should be noted here that the advent and development of agriculture, which accelerated the unequal accumulation and distribution of goods produced by primitive society as well as the division of society into classes, did not inevitably result in the once and final cessation of migration. Clans and, later, large associations of clans—tribes—still continued to change their places of habitation, although not so intensively as before, and began to seek more fertile and more easily worked lands. Often, these better lands were already occupied by someone else, but a powerful clan or tribe desiring to expand its domains did not care about that and, by fire and the sword, would take lands which others had developed by their own blood and sweat.

With regard to mankind today, the only peoples of ancient civilization remaining are those which turned their back on the nomadic way of life and permanent migration at the dawn of history and settled down someplace on the planet, turned their hand to a multi-sector economy, and left deep traces of their life on some small or large portion of earth.

In this way, associations of related tribes, their tool of communication—language—, their religion, and spiritual and material values took shape and were perfected through hundreds and thousands of years. Villages, cities, fortifications, and places of worship were built. Nations were formed on the basis of a common territory, economy, and shared spiritual values, resulting in national states and institutions.

When discussing phenomena of migration both in this country and abroad, the example of the United States is often cited. Parallels are drawn between the United States and the Soviet Union, and people consider that the rational, planned deployment of productive forces on American territory is an example worthy of emulation.

How close is this to the truth? In my opinion, an exhaustive answer to this question will require more thinking and deeper consideration of the matter than is being done now, unfortunately.

Can a parallel be drawn in this sense between the United States and the Soviet Union? Superficially, the answer is yes. On what basis? On the basis that, like the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was built upon the ruins of the former Russian Empire, is a multi-national state whose subjects belong to about 100 different nationalities and tribes.

What lies behind this indisputable fact?

The great geographical discoveries that so abundantly marked the 15th century resulted in the remarkable revival of the civilized but poor population of Europe, which sought riches, land, and gold. A great migration began. In the wake of Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, the new continent that was discovered in the Western Hemisphere, which was later called America, was flooded by hundreds of thousands and millions of people from Europe and Asia. They searched unceasingly for fertile lands suitable for agriculture, for gold, and for social freedom. The vast prairies of America, which were half unoccupied and half occupied by the local aboriginal Indians, promised to fulfill all three of those desires.

The land was indifferent as to who came from where, who was English or Spanish, Portugese or French, Russian or Italian, German or Greek. By the same token, neither did the surging colonists care what place they chose to settle in America—East or West, North or

South, as long as they could get their hands on vast tracts of fertile land and fields of gold, the feverish search for which spread all over the newly discovered continent, and make it their own.

These immigrant colonists differed least of all from the primitive herdsmen who followed their flocks over mountain and valley and were always coming to a new place in their search for lush grazing land.

The immigrant colonists who were later called citizens of the United States left their homeland far across the ocean, their place of birth, the graves of their ancestors, the people near and dear to them, their formal customs and mores, even their God. They voluntarily left their homeland and, either out of social distress or caught up in the dream of wealth untold, they traded the blessings of their native land to seek their fortune in a foreign country, under a foreign sky.

In America, the New Babylon, the immigrant colonists had to start a new life, they had to get used to new ways and procedures. They had to stifle the homesickness—otherwise known as nostalgia—in their heart and, cut off from the support of their kinsmen and the prayers and blessings of their parents, cope with the difficulties of everyday life with the stubbornness of adventurous men.

Later, the Americans created the United States, a big and powerful, comprehensively developed and advanced country which was built on ideas that were progressive for their time. But they did not form a nation. They did not become one national organism; they did not create a national culture different from other cultures.

The word "American" refers to a place of origin rather than a new quality. It is a term which is much poorer in content than, for example, "English/Englishman," "French/Frenchman," "Spanish/Spaniard," "Italian," "Greek," or whatever.

In view of the foregoing, it is not difficult to explain why it is so relatively easy and painless to deploy productive forces in all areas of the territory of the United States in a planned and predesigned manner. It is a peculiarity of America's historical destiny, and we would be making a big and irretrievable mistake if we were to try to follow its example in regard to the productive forces of any other multi-national state, including the Soviet Union.

Do we have the right to make such a categorical assertion? I believe we do. Unlike the United States, the former Russian Empire whose territory was inherited by the Soviet state, was not created in an empty place. No one came here from someplace else; there was no migration or taking of free lands. Until that time, before the creation of the Russian Empire and even earlier, the nations who lived here had their own centuries-old cultures, statehood, and historically developed physiognomy.

The Soviet state today is a voluntary union of those sovereign nations, one which is legitimized and whose inviolability is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, that Law of Laws.

The fact that the Soviet Union is a multi-national state, that each and every one of the nations which make it up has its own language and national culture and that the socialist nations which "give the union republics their names" (unlike the mixed population of the American states, whose people come from different countries), live on their own ancestral land within borders fixed long ago, has not stopped them from manifesting monolithic unity at the most fateful times in the history of the Land of the Soviets or from triumphantly overcoming any trials visited on them.

A vivid example of this was the Great Patriotic War and the Soviet people's world historical victory in that war.

The Soviet socialist nations' consolidating and unifying force, the inspirational force that rallies every Soviet citizen, regardless of nationality, to fight for the gains of Great October, is Soviet patriotism. The universal and all-encompassing force of Soviet patriotism does not rule out but on the contrary insistently demands that you be faithful to your own nation's traditions—because, as Marxism teaches us, everything that is truly national is, by its inherent nature, internationalist, and is understandable to every people.

Any individual's feelings toward his own nation and country, not only toward his own state, have deep roots, but in this context we cannot go into it as it would deflect us from the subject at hand.

In order not to seem biased, I will take a distant example, one from far-off Holland.

Like many other peoples, the Dutch struggled for many centuries against invaders to preserve their national identity and their native land and, for just as many centuries, they built their land, much of which was once at the bottom of the sea. Even today you can hear the common saying, one which would make any people proud, "God made the sea, but the Dutch made the shore!" It is difficult to say which demanded more effort on the part of the Dutch—their unremitting and implacable wars against invaders, constant bloodshed, or the artificial creation of their country's landscape. In this case, blood and sweat complemented one another and have made the people immortal. Let us recall the religious wars which coincided exactly with the great geographical discoveries, the bonfires of the Inquisition at every crossroads, the Spanish satrap King Philip the Second, his henchman the Duke of Alba, who was the butcher of the Dutch and Belgian peoples, William of Orange, whom the people considered a saint, the siege of Leiden, and the triumphant end of the Eighty Years' War—the hoisting of the tri-color flag of national independence.

The Dutch, like many other peoples of the world who built their country with their own hands and shed their own blood in times of peril, have a well-developed and keen sense of their homeland. Some theoreticians believe that a person's homeland is not the place where he was born—rather, it is a much more complicated and profound phenomenon. Sometimes it happens just the opposite: Someone is born far from his homeland and brought up in an alien environment; he may not even know his native language. But once he comes to intellectual maturity, grows up and knows himself, he seeks out his homeland and considers it his prime goal to lay his life on its altar.

Examples? As many as you want!

It is an undeniable fact that all over the world, including the Soviet Union, considerable changes in location, or migration, are observed. Some economists assert directly that it is hard to find anyone these days who has not changed his place of residence two or three times at least. People move from the country to the city and from the city to new construction projects in the North, Siberia, and the Far East. Population movement, in other words, is massive in character. Millions of people change their location every year.

But is this a good or a bad thing? The theoreticians also pose this question and have answered it in their own way.

In this case, I won't go so far away for my own answer to the question. I will refer to the Georgian man's way of life.

When a young Georgian gets married and starts to raise a family, leaves his parents' home and starts his own household, he immediately puts a fence up around his yard, builds a house, plants fruit trees, and starts to prepare the ground for a vineyard. That "immediately" covers several years. Children are born and start to grow up, the fruit trees also, although that takes 10 or 11 years. Patience is required, patience! At about the same age, the new vineyard is also ready to bear; until now it has brought forth only a couple of skimpy bunches. The still-young man and his wife, the half-grown children's father and mother, who are already showing signs of gray hair, look hopefully to the future, and their only wish is for peace on earth so that they will have the chance to enjoy the fruits of their labors and raise their children. They labor day and night, ceaselessly. They answer friend and foe as appropriate and make the rounds of their house and yard, their orchard and vineyard, their wine cellar, buried wine jugs, kitchen garden, hayfield, woods, spring, and irrigation ditch. If their luck holds and they live long enough, they can look back, older now, gray-haired, faces lined, but still strong and hard-working. The first wedding is celebrated, then a second, third, and fourth. The wail of the first grandchild is heard. New generations arise and life starts all over again.

Let's put our hand on our heart and speak honestly: What Georgian man, if he has taken up the traditional yoke of his forefathers, could ever in his conscious life pull up stakes and head out in any direction or change his place of residence several times, when even a whole life is not enough to achieve and accomplish the goals he set for himself in his youth? Where would he go? To whom would he abandon the home he built with fantastic industriousness, the house and yard he nurtured tenderly to create an Eden, his fields and vineyard, the place where he "flung the arrows of youth?" How could he abandon his native place, the land moistened by the sweat of his forefathers a hundred and a thousand years ago, where blood was shed abundantly in unequal battle to save the land and rebuff the invading enemy? Is the traditional yoke of his forefathers a cause for shame and scorn? What is wrong with it? It is the yoke of honest, unimpeachable toil, which ennoble every man and creates the country's prosperity and wealth. This is the reason for the poet's fervent love for his homeland: "I was born to be Georgia's slave and bear her yoke!"

It shouldn't surprise anyone that I spoke only of the farming man in the above and, at first glance, reduced every social stratum which makes up our nation to the peasantry. All of us Georgians—peasants, workers, or intelligentsia—are the sons of peasants, and the blood in our veins is the blood of men who till the soil. As in the whole of Russian literature since Gogol's "The Overcoat," we stem from the peasantry, our roots are still in the village, we are nourished by the sap of the soil. We receive the elixir of life, eternal renewal, from the village. The man who is cut off from his native soil and the bosom of the people who bred him is no longer a Georgian, he is only a biological continuation of the previous generation of his lineage, a degenerated cosmopolite, and he serves more as an enemy than a friend.

In the fall of this year I toured Samtskhe-Dzhavakheti, that tiny part of Old Meskheta. It took me three days to visit all the scattered historical monuments, and remains of monuments, from Atskhuri and Zarzma to Kumurdo, and then I returned to Tbilisi by the Tabatskuri-Bakuriani route.

Seeing once more the now nearly leveled ruins of the Atskuri Cathedral, which I had seen many times before, filled my heart with grief and reminded me of the torrents of blood that were shed between the invading hordes and the Georgians defending their land, their hard-won national identity, and their faith. On the other hand, I was proud and overjoyed when I saw the Sapara Monastery complex hidden away in the mountains of Samtskhe, almost inaccessible. Anyone who sees it, unless he has lost the ability to perceive and appreciate beauty, cannot help being amazed and filled with deep reverence for the creative genius of man's works.

Time goes on, countless storms of merciless history have swept through, but the Sapara Monastery, built by the tireless and miracle-working hands of Georgian men,

still stands intact and fills your heart with unquenchable hope and faith, faith that you are the son of a hardy nation which has come to this earth with the immortal mission of the builder, and the hope that you and your posterity will be able to hold your head high and add a new stone in turn to the walls built by your ancestors.

I do not want to launch into an ode to Sapara, nor do I intend to focus the reader's attention on monuments of the past. Something else compelled me to take pen in hand this time. I mentioned my trip to Samtskhe-Dzhavakheti and the holy places we are all familiar with only in order to lead into a discussion of the effort that has been made by the Georgian man who is heir to this land, a discussion of the environment which he has transformed and somehow given life to.

Hordes from far away swarmed into our land to pillage, enslave, and wreck, to leave no structure standing. The Georgian man kept building, even when the invader stood over him and arrogantly destroyed what he had done; he kept building because he believed that that endeavor is the prime purpose of life, an imperative that he must carry out. The industrious builder has known from time immemorial that the future belongs only to what one has built, while he who destroys will sooner or later destroy himself—indeed, he already has! All that we have is what the Georgian man, loving his native land, his home, and the path trod by his forefathers, inspired by his stubborn hope in the future, has built upon this blessed land.

There is nothing on earth that you love and cherish more than what you have built with your own hands. You rejoice in it, you take pleasure in it, all you want to do is make it more beautiful, more attractive and delightful.

I too shared in that old and forever new feeling while I was traveling in Samtskhe-Dzhavakheti. Not far from Aspindza, which is a matter of concern to every Georgian, I dropped in on the ancient village of Oshora, whose inhabitants, despite the unbelievable oppression they suffered at the hands of the Moslemized Atabegs and the scoundrels who were their henchmen, preserved their national character through the centuries. In the end, however, the perversity of fate did its work, the village of Oshora was gradually drained of its people, and now it faces the threat of becoming a ghost town before our very eyes. And what a village it is! Nothing anywhere is better than the springs around there, the black soil that is so rich a carelessly thrown seed sprouts from it, apple and pear trees heavy with fruit, groves of mulberry and quince trees, and several dozen varieties of wheat and vegetables!

I will not now pursue the topic of where the people of Oshora and their close and distant neighbors went and who they took shelter with, what terrible fate the wheel of history visited upon them. All I want to do now is talk about what we have left today.

I chanced upon a wonderful scene in Oshora. With my own eyes I saw a village being built, built in the true sense of that word. The new residents of the area, newcomers from villages in blook-kin Adjara—were building houses as fast as they could. Some had already managed to put up permanent walls, others were laying foundations, some of the houses already had roofs on, and the carpenters were preparing to lay the floors. Stacks of building materials lined the roads, newly-sawn lumber was drying in temporary sheds, ironworkers were putting together reinforcements for the concrete, and some distance away there were bulldozers working to make a broad, straight street. Closer by, along a partially-paved street, people had already installed big iron pipes in a trench to bring fresh spring water to the new Oshora. I chatted with the busy newcomers and called a blessing upon their homes and families. May you build and multiply! May your race and progeny overflow Oshora and the land around it, may you live and prosper and once again fill this place with the hustle and bustle that ceased so long ago!

I am confident that this will happen. From Adjara's narrow and populous valleys, where there is not enough room anymore to stick an arrow into the ground, the migration of surplus population continues—within the republic, of course—migration which is voluntary and well-organized, extremely essential today and oriented toward the far future.

I have also visited another fair-sized village of newly-settled Adjarians, this one in another bounteous district of Georgia, Kakheti, in the Alazani Valley. The village is called Samtatskaro, and it is just being born, as if out of the ashes, getting on its feet, and preparing to wrestle with eternity. There are new villages elsewhere as well. The fire has been rekindled in many a hearth that was extinguished through the adversities of history, and many more yet are to be rekindled tomorrow and the day after.

Who are these people, these newcomers? They are blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of those who drove their oxcarts filled with dynamited stone up the slopes of Samtskhe to build the Sapara Monastery which is the delight of everyone, the blood and flesh of those who toiled to build the glories of Khertvisi, Vardzia, Tmogvi, Okros Tsikhe, Kumurdo, Zarzma, and Timotesubani, men who could stand with a clear conscience before God and man.

Brother leaves brother and son leaves father and builds a new house on the foundations of the old. He is the heir of a civilized nation that was established forever a thousand years ago in his forefathers' habitat, and in the felicitous words of the poet, he prefers death here to life anywhere else. From here he makes his own contribution to the fraternal banquet table of Soviet nations; from here every man has gone to war against the common foe; and here he has taken the goodly guest under his roof. Is

there anyone who thinks there is something surprising or unhealthy about that? What would really be surprising and unhealthy is if it were otherwise!

If it were not so, how could we explain the countless sacrifices that every freedom-loving people has made for the sake of its native land, national identity, and national independence? How else could we explain, for example, the significance of Citizen Minin and Prince Pozharskiy and their place in Russian history? How else could we explain the Russian people's unprecedented heroism and dedication to their homeland in the bloody war against the Mongol conquerors on the field of Kulikovo in the year 1380? Obviously, this cannot be accounted for solely by the laws of economic science. There are other factors at work here, and if we ignore them or merely refer to them in a formalistic manner we will never reach a solution to the question.

By itself, migration is an objective process which does not always submit to society's control and guidance. Some theoreticians think that while in one case migration is desirable and even essential in order to develop productive forces, in another case it is not desirable at all. We have read somewhere that masses of people are leaving their homes in Tyumen Oblast, Yakutia, and regions of the Far East where the population density is catastrophically low, and are coming to live in the country's southern regions, where there is no shortage of manpower anyway. The author of that article calculates that the greater portion of the builders working on the South Tajikistan Territorial-Industrial Complex, for example, consists of persons who came there from Siberia and the Far East. There is no end to the flow of manpower out of the central regions of the RSFSR, a factor which threatens the territory with an absolute reduction in population.

Economists are worried about this truly alarming fact, and rightly so, and they are seeking ways and means of keeping the native inhabitants of those regions of the RSFSR (or persons living there) where they are. In their opinion, the only effective and correct way to stabilize and hold population in place is to improve economic conditions. Unless the local inhabitants' communal and living conditions are improved, economists say—and they are absolutely right—there will be no end to unorganized migration by large numbers of people who pull up stakes and head for other regions of the country in search of the necessities for normal life, and from there to other regions, and so on.

Anyone who has looked into the matter just has to agree with the economists' judgment, but the same demographic economists go even further. They are not content just to make a frank analysis of the instability of the local inhabitants of the RSFSR's central regions and the fact that the most effective way and means to stop random migration is to improve the people's material wellbeing; they propose the organized settling of the depopulated

lands, on the basis of economic data, with production manpower from other regions of the country, namely the Transcaucasus and Central Asia.

According to the theoreticians, this process—shifting some republic's native population from their own homeland to another region of the country in order to develop productive capacity there—is a complicated process, and we must not expect that it can be accomplished all at once. But the main thing, in their opinion, is that we set the goal of populating Russian lands at the expense of those regions and actually start preparing to accomplish it!

What kind of preparations, in particular? What do the scientists advise us?

We must help the native population of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia, we must help people overcome negative phenomena in their consciousness, discard outmoded mores and customs—even vestiges of ethnocentrism (which used to be called love for one's homeland)—narrow ideas of patriotism and obsessive attachment to the familiar landscapes of childhood. They must be provided with conditions for learning Russian better and mastering the kinds of specialties which they will need in their new home. The new territories—that is, the depopulated territories which were in time abandoned by their native population—will be developed primarily by young people coming in. As for the old habitat, the historical homeland, no doubt the people of the older generation, a population without a future, will stay there and wait for the end of their days. In other words, not to prolong this, we are told that we must get the population of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus moving, prepare the natives there so that they can move the foundations of their "familiar" republic elsewhere.

How do you like it, dear reader? Do you see what a remarkable solution some of our scientists have found for this complicated situation? Do you see how they have found an unparalleled method for rebuilding the productive population in the central regions of the RSFSR, Siberia, and the Far East?

But the people who thought this up and wrote it down in black and white (others, of course, have taken it up and brought it out into the open for discussion and a sharing of views)—did they give no thought to the simple folk wisdom which says that to the parent, every child—even if he had a hundred—is equally beloved, and one child's happiness, however talented and blessed he might be, cannot be built upon another child's misfortune? Good God, people, if you remove the young people from one republic to develop the productive forces of another, if you send them elsewhere, even to a better place to live, and if you thus abandon that republic to the older generation, the old folks, what do you think the results will be? A once strong nation, which flourished during the years of Soviet rule, will be headed for physical

extinction on the path of genocide! Every nation's young people are its future. No nation, big or small, can exist without its young people, its hope of tomorrow. If you cause young people to migrate you might as well just uproot the whole nation—it's exactly the same thing! Past history furnishes plenty of examples of this. Consider Georgia's history, for example. By way of illustration, consider Shah Abbas's uprooting of Kakhelia, whose population he removed to the center of Persia. And this act is well matched by the deportation of Meskheta's Moslemized Georgians to Turkey and the settling of 110,000 Erzurum Armenians in the Meskheta's place. This latter move was carried out in the 1830s by General Paskheevich and his heirs.

Any nation that has lost its young people can look forward only to the grave, for the sprouts of its future have been cut off.

Why do I keep harping on this "nation question"? Perhaps it was not necessary to discuss it on this plane? Maybe our theoreticians, whom I have purposely refrained from identifying, are totally bypassing the national question, which has long since been resolved by historical materialism, and are concerned only with the sphere of economic science.

Believe it or not, while discussing problems of migration, the resettlement of peoples, and permanent population movement, they have also devoted considerable space to the national question, although they have not dealt with it completely and have left the matter vague.

Here are a few quotes: "Hence, the national will not disappear but rather develop." But how? In what way? "The national will not be banished (?) but rather renewed and enriched with internationalist values (?), and a new kind of national will appear in all its variety (?)."

It has always been true and it is, I think, true today, that every particular element of socialist culture, like socialist culture as a whole, is national in form and internationalist in content. If it did not have the former attribute—nationality—it would lose its specificity, one of the prime attributes of its existence. If it did not have the latter—its internationalist nature—it would no longer have universal significance but would be confined to the ethnographic shell of nationality. It is not that the national is enriched by internationalist values; rather, if we are dealing with genuine culture and not a vulgarization of it, the two have from the beginning, even in the embryonic stage, complemented one another, because the truly national does not exist without the internationalist, nor the truly internationalist without the national.

As we saw above, these works discuss patriotism, its essence, and varieties of it.

"Patriotism organically contains respect for the national dignity of every Soviet citizen," one author writes. "We are against any tendency which attempts to artificially erase and eradicate national characteristics, but neither are we in favor of inflating and exaggerating these characteristics."

All well and good. Nobody could find anything to object to in that extremely reasonable declaration. But, as the Georgian saying has it, "I believe your word of honor but the facts surprise me." All else aside, don't you find it a bit awkward to accuse any people not your own of backwardness, hold them up to public shame, attempt to force them onto the Procrustean bed, and demand that they transform their customs and national traditions in accordance with your wishes? What can we call this other than an insult to the national dignity of Soviet citizens and the people as a whole, which is prohibited by an appropriate article in the USSR Constitution and considered a crime? Overcoming "backwardness" and discarding "outmoded customs" is, after all, the business of the people themselves and not someone else, however well-intentioned this "someone else" may be toward the people in question!

(To be continued)

#### **Party Organization, Population in Issyk-Kul Oblast Highlighted** 18330402d

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz 23 October 1988 carries on pp 1, 3, 4 a 3100 word KirTAG report headlined "Plenum of the Issyk-Kul Obkom" highlighting population and party organization statistics in Issyk-Kul Oblast. The population totals 650 thousand of which Kirghiz are 76 percent, Russians 17 percent, Ukrainians 1.4 percent, Kazakhs 0.9 percent, Uzbeks and Tatars 0.8 percent, and Uighurs 0.6 percent. There are 1065 primary party organizations consisting of "more than" 25 thousand members: 243 of the organizations are in shops and construction and transportation organizations, and 118 in kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The report points out that the obkom bureau, raykoms, Soviets and economic organizations "are still not responding fully to the needs of restructuring."

#### **Problem of Non-Russian KaSSR Labor Force** 18320403 Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh 6 Jan 89 pp 10-11

[Round Table Discussion prepared by Otepbergen Aqypbekov: "The Real Meaning of a 'Respected Profession'"]

[Text] At the end of last year, a round table discussion was held on the theme "Social Aspects of the formation of a National Labor Class," organized by the Sociological Research Center of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, the Non-Fiction Council of the Kazakhstan Writers Union, and QAZAQ ADEBIYETI. The following writers, and scientists, party officials, and

specialists, and workers of Alma-Ata City labor collectives participated: Iliyas Abilayuly Aytimbetov, division chief and instructor of the Sociological Research Center of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, candidate in philosophical science, Sapar Imanghaluly Ospanov, division chief of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy and Law Institute's Center for the Study of Nationality and Inter-Nationality Relations, candidates in philosophy Absetem Qaliuly Arghynbayev, and Baqytzhan Khasanov, senior research worker, candidate in pedagogical science, demographer Maqash Bayghaliuly Tatimov, sector chief, candidate in economic sciences Abdigadyr Khasenuly Attapkhonov, Qazbek Baytazaully Baytazin, inspector of the KaSSR Ministry of People's Education, Svetlana Prigoryeva Korolyeva, deputy secretary of the junction party committee of the Alma-Ata Railways Division, Ghabiden Karimov, responsible official of the Alma-Ata City Center for Work Placement, and for Refining the Professional Knowledge of Residents and Providing Professional Counseling; engineer-economist of the Alma-Ata Alma-Ata Housing Construction Combine Anarkhan Usupova; writer Qalmukhan Isabayev; and Sapar Bayzhanov, writer and chairman of the Kazakhstan Writers Union Non-Fiction Council.

The round table discussions were chaired and opened by Akim Ashimov (Tarazi), secretary of the Kazakhstan Writers Union Administration.

The work of the round table was summed up by Sayyn Muratbekov, second secretary of the Kazakhstan Writers Union Administration.

[A. Ashimov]—Formation of nationality labor cadres—this is one of the critical questions of the day. Looking at our past, we see that in the 1930s efforts to achieve this were somewhat more active than today. At present there are virtually no works in Kazakh literature devoted to the theme of the worker. Today, except for one or two writers such as S. Shaymerdenov, Q. Isabayev, and S. Sanbayev, there is little worth mentioning on the subject. Why?

[Q. Isabayev] There are a number of writers who have taken up the theme. However...

[A. Ashimov]—But there are few who have dealt with the theme on a regular basis. However, it seems in any case that the matter is very, very complicated. In 1960 I was frequently among the workers of the Temirtau. The Majority were stably employed. But what is the situation like today at Ekibastuz? Young people who in years past went there on Komsomol assignment are now returning. We have not paid attention to ethnic peculiarities in the formation of working classes. That is to say, we build small, one-bedroom family housing, and thereby feel that we have solved a problem in essence. What are young people with many children, and parents who live with them on top of this to do? How can anyone be patient putting up with such cramped housing?

[I. Aytimbetov]—As you state quite correctly, we must take nationality peculiarities into consideration. Leaving aside the question of those with large families, we have been unable to completely guarantee single workers residential halls and housing. We have noticed this in the process of examining social and living conditions of workers of the Alma-Ata Housing Construction Combine. We have been unable to create conditions to acclimatize young workers who have just come from the country, and whose knowledge of Russian is weak, to the life of the city and to encourage their active participation in it.

[B. Khasanov]—What you want to say is that if, your young man recently come from the countryside, and not knowing Russian well, were to participate in our discussions here, would he understand what is being said? Why are not the discussions carried on in two languages?...

[A. Ashimov]—You are correct. Since representatives of both ethnic groups are participating in the discussions, we have thought it suitable to carry on discussions in Russian. We must bear our remarks in mind for future discussions.

[I. Aytimbetov]—The problem—we must take into consideration the moral and psychological atmosphere in collectives not dependent just upon knowing a language, or not knowing a language. We create barriers between young working men and women, dividing them between women's and men's dormitories, and preventing them from having contact with each other. Indeed, does not this kind of limitation, this kind of classification go on even for institute dormitories? Should not every dormitory be able to create the feeling that this one's home?

Are there not young people having difficult marriages because of this, and although they have two or three children whom they love, cannot live as a married couple, are unable to have contact with their children, and have lost hope, the two parents living bachelor lives in two separate dormitories... (Movement in the hall). You should not laugh. This is nothing to laugh at. As bitter as it may be, it is the truth. Even if such couples live together in the future,—they will have experienced divorce in the dormitory, and if they return, and come together again, they will be separate in mind...

[B. Khasanov]—I do not agree with your idea regarding "not dependent just upon knowing a language, or not knowing a language." Language—it is not just a device for communications, we also recognize it as a support for labor, and for education. In this context, bilingualism has much to contribute. We must know language in order to be able to say—"Boss, we need this, if you do that it will be easier for you, we need to do it this way." Who can say that questions of lack of nationality, worker stability, and failure to master specialties sufficiently are not connected with language?

[Q. Baytazin]—I agree with what you say. The role of language—in preparing a knowledgeable worker—is great. Various resolutions and decisions have been made on refining bilingualism in the area of educating the people, but fulfillment has been slow. For this reason the ranks of nationality young people studying at rural professional-technical schools have been reduced sharply. The number of those studying in groups based upon industry is especially small. All in all, their numbers do not exceed 8-24 percent...

[S. Bayzhanov]—What are the numbers like at rural professional-technical schools preparing railroad workers? Should we not carry on lessons in the national language or establish special groups?

[Q. Baytazin]—There are 13 rural professional-technical schools preparing railroad workers. Throughout the republic, instruction is given in Kazakh in 29 schools, and in Uzbek in one school. We are speaking of the situation in regard to rural professional-technical schools preparing cadres for the industrial sector. Indeed the situation is difficult in this area. There are no teachers who know Kazakh, there are no textbooks in the native language. Thus we limit ourselves to saying "no...no...no..."

[Q. Isabayev]—Why have textbooks not been translated into the mother tongue, why have we—writers and journalists—not become involved in this? Let us help, let us even translate for free. During the period of a year, I myself have re-translated into Kazakh a fourth grade mathematics textbooks from the Kazakh. (Laughter in the hall). It is true, my child has difficulty solving his math homework. When I wanted to help and looked at the problems, I was unable to understand the structure of the words explaining how to solve the problems. If I re-translate this material from the Kazakh, my child has no problem finding the answers. Thus...

[Q. Baytazin]—But we have an urgent need even for bad textbooks. For example, there are sufficient national cadres in the schools of the southern oblasts. Nonetheless, lessons are given in Russian. This is entirely due to a shortage of textbooks and instructional materials in the mother tongue. We must work on this problem together. We will not find a solution to this problem by just talking about it...

[S. Korolyeva]—It has gone beyond the public discussion stage, problems of the education and stability of nationality worker cadres have been looked at several times by our junction party organization. In general, it seems as if the situation in the republic is the subject of lots of interest. Some 35 percent of workers are representatives of local nationalities. However, if we look at individual labor sectors, the situation is entirely different. For example, whereas 80 percent of road workers are nationality workers, they constitute only 20 percent in the communications system. This is because the children of road workers living at work stations do not go to rural

professional-technical schools. Why you ask? It is because there are no dormitories, or dormitory space is insufficient at the professional schools preparing railroad workers. In addition, weakness in the Russian language limits the ability of individuals to master complex specialties like those of the communications worker.

[A. Attapkhonov]—Why are you not carrying out measures to promote mastery of bilingualism?...

[S. Korolyeva]—To tell the truth, there has not been the slightest progress. For an entire year, we have been unable to find a teacher capable of teaching the Kazakh language, and of giving lessons in Kazakh...

[B. Khasanov]—You are making excuses when you say that there are no Kazakh teachers. Tomorrow let me help you find dozens of Kazakh language specialists...

[S. Korolyeva]—That would be wonderful! However, we have looked everywhere. We have asked the help of both rayon and city educational institutions. To no avail. There are many wishing to study and learn the Kazakh language...

[A. Attapkhonov]—Let us look at another problem for a minute: the number of workers in the sector producing material benefits has fallen sharply today. Likewise, I wonder about the composition of agricultural and industrial labor forces. For example, if almost half of the agricultural workers are representatives of nationalities, the figure of 20 percent has already become stabilized in the industrial sector. And what about animal husbandry, and sheep herding within it...

[A. Arghynbayev]—Let us take, for example, sovkhos workers—aside from farmers and those belonging to kolkhozes. Indeed, how many sovkhos sheep herders are there? Sheep herders in sovkhoses and kolkhozes, are they not different?

[A. Attapkhonov]—This is one side of the question. If you look at the composition of sheep herders as a whole, if not 100 percent, then 90 percent are representatives of local nationalities. This is also an issue which we need take into consideration.

[S. Ospanov]—The socio-class structure of the republic is complicated.—We must consider it in depth, research it fundamentally, and weigh it. There is no sector not affected by the breeze of bureaucratic management during the years of stagnation. One proof of this is limitation of the branching out of nationality working classes. At present, carefully considering measures which have been taken up to compensate for our deficiencies, we must solve problems in a coordinated way, on a scientific basis. We cannot make errors or mistakes. Heads of labor collectives and social organizations must see to it that this work is carried out conscientiously.

[A. Arghynbayev]—Education of nationality labor cadres is connected with management attitudes. Let us take Dzhambul Oblast as an example. In that oblast local nationality workers were 17 percent up until 1950, but 20 percent during the 1950s and 1960s, and 30 percent during the 1970s. Bayzhanov and Antoshkin were for many years section chiefs in the famous Karatau Combine. Conditions in the two sections were quite different from one another. The percentage of Kazakh workers in the section headed by Antoshkin were only 4 percent, but 53 percent in the section headed by Bayzhanov. Is this a matter of favoritism, or is it an accident! Whatever you say, there is no way to justify such a state of affairs.

[S. Ospanov]—It is said—"what you reap is what you sow" (Lit.: "you will not have a lot of wool from sheep you have slaughtered"). We must not solely think of nationality working classes as just a matter of Kazakhs. We must also realize that Uighurs, Dungans, and representatives of other nationalities form working classes...

[A. Arghynbayev]—You are right, we must take this into consideration too. We make an effort to bring in cadres from outside, well and good. But let us not forget about our own cadres in doing so. The level of general education of local nationality workers in the KaSSR is higher than that of other nationality workers. Some 90 percent have a general middle education. However, their professional training (kvalifikatsiyasy) is very low. Why? It is known that workers receive additional pay for middle education. This means that if their knowledge is greater—their wages are also greater. We must try to understand this problem.

[A. Usupova]—It is true that the most important thing for a worker—is knowledge. Sometimes it happens that when a worker is relocated he is paid at the first class. We must stop this. According to law, such workers must be accepted at the second class, and this cannot be reduced. However, it seems as if sometimes we pay no attention to the law. At our combine there are women plasterers working at the first class level.

Just like the saying, "hit someone when they are down," most construction labor is still not mechanized and there is much physical labor. When you look at the dirty hands of the women all cut to pieces, it will break your heart. QAZAQ ADEBIYETI has published good material on this, which we have all read. We hope that conditions for working women will improve.

[A. Ashimov]—What is job instability like for workers in your plant? What kind of measures are being carried out to encourage mastery of bilingualism?

[A. Usupova]—Instability of cadres is 9 percent for the entire combine. This is good. The All-Union average figure for our sector is 24 percent. However, it is possible

to get housing quicker, in comparison to other collectives, after construction has been completed. This is certainly one basis, I think, for sharply reducing worker instability.

In the area of bilingualism, there has been no worthwhile progress. I myself am Khirghiz, I know personally about the difficulties that arise when one does not know the language. Sometimes one encounters cases where young workers come from rural areas are shamed as "bumpkins who do not know Russian." To eliminate such improprieties, bilingualism must not just remain on paper. The matter must be pressed forward energetically.

[B. Khasanov]—Perhaps I have said too much today, my apologies. My thanks to comrade Anarkhan! I would like to re-emphasize what has been said to the effect that we must form and educate nationality work classes through language.

[S. Bayzhanov]—It is insolence to say "if you know no Russian, you are a bumpkin." Would not one be ashamed to say that "if you do not know English or French, you are a bumpkin..." Too few literary treatments of worker themes have appeared,—you have complained. It is a reasonable demand. We have cut ourselves off from the workers. At present, we should take up measures such as "hours for talking to the writers" at every industry and construction organization, and we should become involved in the organization of literary evenings. We should be making agreements to write factual literary documents based upon the lives of individual collectives. We must not remain on the sidelines.

[M. Tatimov]—Very good ideas have been expressed, and suggestions made. I am very happy about what is being said. We need an open discussion of these issues. I can only express my thanks to the organizers of the round table discussion. Whatever may be said, it is good to get ideas out into the open...

You have said that the ranks of nationality labor classes were large in the 1930s. But this is not correct since there are other sides to the issue. For example, what could those people deprived of their animals do, they were forced into the mines, and unwillingly took part in production. Later, as soon as they had bred livestock, they went back to the steppe and continued their livelihood. The formation of nationality working classes at that time was something forced. There was otherwise no foundation for it.

At present there is an absolute foundation for the formation of a working class, and possibilities as well. The demographic base has grown greatly. We must utilize it. According to future projections, during the next century nearly a million rural youths may come to the city. Indeed, we must worry about the village. If all the young people are drawn into the city—will the villages remain empty. Urbanization is evidence of this...

[Gh. Karimov]—The ranks of young people expressing an interest in working in the cities are large. We cannot supply all uniformly with work, and we cannot keep all of them on the job. Each year on the average 75,000-80,000 young people go to the cities, some 80 percent are young people who have mastered no specialty whatever. We are not adapting students of rural middle schools to production interests. Thus they choose any kind of work, without thinking, or become involved in their home collective, and after it some other collective. Some idle about for two or three months without being able to find work, then go back to the country. To what extent are we wasting our labor resources, you might ask. Nationally, the number of young people without work for up to three months has reached 600-700,000. We must free ourselves from this deficiency. We must endeavor to provide specialties to young people without specialties, to place them in work, and to keep them on the job through adjusting dormitory and other living conditions.

[M. Tatimov]—"The worker—an honorable specialty." We must prove this statement not just with words but with deeds. We must re-confirm it. We must not create bad feelings among young people who waste two or three months to no purpose in the city, unable to find work, towards worker specialties, city living skills and towards city life. The right social attitudes must be formed in the worker.

[Q. Isabayev]—In my view we must eliminate the shift system. For example, there are four professional-technical schools training oil workers in Guryev. Young people who have graduated from the school have proven unable to get jobs in their fields. But they have to! What is the reason? The reason is the shift system. Those coming from outside cannot break in. Even without that, some 1700 workers remain without work due to the breaking up of "Embaneft."

[Q. Baytazin]—There has been too much discussion in my view. I have a minor request. What I have to say is in reference to writers and journalists participating here. Our press writes little about the life of the professional and technical schools. There are some interesting people who have taught in them for years. You should write about them...

[S. Ospanov]—We must prevent the labor instability of cadres, young cadres in particular. We must exercise strict control...

[A. Ashimov]—It is planned to organize a council under the Writers Union to discuss questions of the formation of nationality worker classes. Many of those who have participated in this discussion would, I think, want to become active members of that council... Thanks very much for your thoughtful and open thoughts!...

Participants in the round table discussion saw the need for a future discussion of this work to take place in a specific labor collective. It would be appropriate for

collective managers, and lead personnel of social organizations, to participate in the discussions along with workers. One session, one meeting of the minds is unable to get to the root of the problem. The newly organized discussion council, strengthening its connections with research organizations, social organizations and labor collectives, must examine labor in a planned systematic manner. The importance of the matter requires this.

Atepbergen Aqypbekov, preparer of the round table material.

To the reader:

Did you consciously choose your labor specialty, or was your choice haphazard? Do you like your specialty? What kind of measures do you think should be carried out to increase worker activism?

Perhaps you are one of those who, deciding once, as a firm resolution, or through youthful impetuosity, to become a worker, made your way to one of the great cities of the republic. Why, when it was possible to take a special course and acquire a specialty, did you not stay in the city? Was it because you did not like the work opportunities or living conditions, or was it because you did not like the profession?

We ask that you write your open thoughts on this to the address given below:

480100 Alma-Ata City Qurmanghazy imeni Street, No 29 To the Sociological Research Center, Economics Institute, KaSSR Academy of sciences

#### **Niyazov Meets With Families of Stalin's Victims** 18350013a

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 6 January 1989 carries on page 1 a 700 word Turkmeninform report on the meeting of S. A. Niyazov, first secretary CC TCP, and R. A. Bazarova, chairman of the presidium of the TSSR Supreme Soviet, with relatives of "victims of crimes which occurred during the years of Stalin's cult of personality." The report notes that "the fact that victims of the personality cult are being remembered in the republic and that the process of rehabilitating those whose careers had been cut short during the 1930s, and 1940s and 1950s created a feeling of special satisfaction among the relatives." Those present included wives and children of the former first secretary CC TC(b)P, the first chairman of the TSSR Soviet of Peoples Commissars and the former commander of the Turkmenistan special cavalry brigade.

**'Responsible People Support Prostitutes'**  
18350013c

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 12 January 1989 carries on page 3 a 900 word letter from Shykhaly Shykhymgulyyev in which he claims that "at the present time there are a great many prostitutes who are earning money to support themselves through their own debauchery and who are being protected. Responsible people are supporting these prostitutes. If you listen to the words of the leaders, they hold prostitution in disdain and condemn it roundly. Such women do harm: they break up families and set people against each other. What force can stand against prostitution? Is the strength of parents enough to fight against this contemptible occurrence in our country?"

**Obstacles To Functioning Of Cooperatives Noted**  
18350013d

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 20 January 1989 carries on page 3 a 1000 word article by G. Gurbanov in which he discusses the operations of the republic's 325 registered cooperatives. He points out that despite the cooperatives' potential for providing goods and services to the population "we cannot say that the newly-formed cooperatives have resolved the questions concerning goods in great demand by the population and other items. Cooperatives in operation at the present time are still doing their basic work through manual labor. Thus, their production potential remains small." The fact that rayon and city Soviet ispolkoms have confined themselves to only a formal acceptance of cooperative operations has also placed obstacles in their path. "Insufficient attention is being given to providing them with the needed buildings, equipment and raw materials. As a result, more than 200 of the officially recognized cooperatives are inactive."

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, economic, military, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available source; it should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed, with personal and place names rendered in accordance with FBIS transliteration style.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

#### SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Soviet Union, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be

provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735, or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301 (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771).

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

12 JUNE 89